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THE
SOUTHWESTERN SOCIAL SCIENCE
QUARTERLY

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No. 4

The Indemnification of Aliens
Injured by Mob Violence

J. ALEXANDER KARLIN
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Four days after the New Orleans "lynching bee" of 1891, William Howard Taft, then solicitor general, wrote the following commentary to his father:

The recent outbreak in New Orleans against the Italians has raised some rather embarrassing international questions, and emphasizes the somewhat anomalous character of our Government, which makes the National Government responsible for the action of the State authorities without giving it any power to control that action.¹

This viewpoint has been echoed occasionally, because the federal character of the American government has resulted from time to time in embarrassing situations and constitutional controversies occasioned by outbreaks of mob violence against men who suffer from what Bret Harte described as the "defective moral quality of being a foreigner."² The federal government represents the American people in international affairs, and is therefore answerable to foreign governments for any serious deviations from the practices accepted by civilized nations in the treatment of

¹ W. H. Taft to Alphonzo Taft, March 18, 1891, Taft Papers (Library of Congress).

² See T. A. Bailey, *Theodore Roosevelt and the Japanese-American Crisis* (Palo Alto, 1934), 193ff, 254 ff; W. H. Taft, *The United States and Peace* (New York, 1914), 40-89; C. H. Watson, "Need for Federal Legislation in Respect to Mob Violence in Cases of Lynching of Aliens," *Yale Law Journal*, Vol. 25, 561-581 (1915-1916); and list in C. C. Hyde, *International Law; Chiefly as Applied and Interpreted by the United States* (Boston, 1922), Vol. I, 517, n. 1.

resident aliens.³ The states, however, have the main responsibility for the maintenance of public order, which includes the protection of aliens in their persons and property from injuries arising from mob violence.⁴ According to the generally accepted practices of peaceful relations among nations, it would be the states, and not the federal government, which should be held liable for any breach of public order resulting in injury to aliens.⁵ But, under our federal system, the states have no standing in the family of nations.⁶ They neither send nor receive diplomatic representatives; they cannot enter independently into treaties with foreign nations; they cannot maintain armed forces without the consent of Congress, nor may they engage in a number of other activities characteristic of independent nations.⁷ There is, consequently, no channel through which a foreign nation may make representations to a state. On the other hand, the federal government, which must necessarily receive the protests and claims, has no means to punish the perpetrators of the outrages, nor to require the states to assume the burden of the damages.⁸

The United States has been the scene of an inordinate number of mob attacks on aliens. Yet a certain pattern of events is noticeable in almost every case in which the federal government provided monetary compensation to the government representing

³ Address by Elihu Root, April 28, 1910, *Proceedings of the American Society of International Law*, Vol. 4, 20 (1910); E. M. Borchard, *The Diplomatic Protection of Citizens Abroad* (New York, 1915), 199 ff; and C. Eagleton, *The Responsibility of States in International Law* (New York, 1928), 13 ff.

⁴ Borchard, *op. cit.*, 225-226.

⁵ H. W. Stoye, *The Foreign Relations of the Federal State* (Baltimore, 1931), 135-136.

⁶ *United States v. Arjona*, 120 U. S. 483; *Knox v. Lee*, 12 Wall. 555; *Chae Chan Ping v. United States*, 130 U. S. 606; R. Phillimore, *Commentaries Upon International Law* (2nd edition, London, 1871), Vol. 1, 194. See also *American Law Review*, Vol. 25, 273-274 (1891); and E. Clunet, "Incident italo-américain de la Nouvelle-Orléans," *Journal du droit international privé et de la jurisprudence comparée*, Vol. 18, 1156 (1891).

⁷ Constitution of the United States of America, Art. I, Sec. 10.

⁸ Hyde, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, 518; Borchard, *op. cit.*, 225-226; Harrison message of 9 Dec., 1891, *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1891, v-vi. See also Harrison to Blaine, 15 March, 1891, A. T. Volwiler, Ed., *The Correspondence Between Benjamin Harrison and James G. Blaine, 1882-1893* (Philadelphia, 1940), 142.

the families of the victims. Upon receiving reports of the outbreaks, the foreign envoy complains to the secretary of state. The latter, after attempting to soothe the diplomat, sends an inquiry to the governor of the state in which the incident occurred, and also requests him to take appropriate measures. While the diplomats are exchanging notes, a non-federal grand jury convenes in the county where the aliens had been killed. Swayed by the sentiments of the community, it fails to hand down indictments. The negotiations on the diplomatic front continue unhurriedly. Finally, the secretary of state climaxes the correspondence with an elaborate statement of the non-responsibility of the federal government, which position does not go unchallenged. At this juncture the president asks Congress to appropriate money for an indemnity to be awarded *ex gratia*. After the usual reports and debates, Congress accedes to this request, thereby concluding the incident. This *modus operandi* was followed after the New Orleans outbreak against Spanish residents in 1851,⁹ the Rock Springs, Wyoming, massacre of the Chinese in 1885,¹⁰ and the subsequent atrocities against the Chinese on the Pacific coast.¹¹

The incident which perhaps best illustrates the complexities and the ramifications of the problem of the federal government is the Italian-American imbroglio of 1891. The significance of this case was heightened on account of a departure from precedent. When Benjamin Harrison, ignoring congress, ordered Secretary of State James G. Blaine to pay to Italy \$25,000 from his department's emergency fund in settlement of the Italian claims, he provoked wrath on Capitol Hill. The ensuing attempts

⁹ See correspondence, 25 Cong. Globe, 33 ff; Fillmore message of 5 Jan., 1851, 24 Cong. Globe 202; statement by Senator Underwood, *ibid.* 2341; and appropriation, 10 Stat. 89.

¹⁰ See correspondence, *Foreign Relations*, 1886, 101-168; Cleveland message of 2 March, 1886, *House Ex. Docs.*, No. 102, 49 Cong., 1 Sess., 3; appropriation, 24 Stat. 418. There was considerable debate in both houses: 17 Cong. Rec. 3919-3921, 5110-5115, 5183-5190, 5196-5199, 5229-5235, and 18 Cong. Rec. 1504-1511.

¹¹ See correspondence, *Foreign Relations*, 1888, 363-404 *passim*; Cleveland message of Oct. 1, 1889, *Senate Ex. Docs.*, No. 273, 50 Cong., 1 Sess., 5; appropriation, 25 Stat. 566.

to censure Harrison provided another page in the controversy between the executive and the legislature as to the exact degree of power each is entitled to exercise.

On March 14, 1891, eleven men, all of whom were of either Italian citizenship or origin, were lynched in New Orleans. The Italian minister, Baron Fava, "half crazed over the tragedy,"¹² rushed to the state department at once. He protested to Blaine against the inaction of the local authorities,¹³ implored the secretary to see that "energetic precautions" were taken to protect the Italian colony in New Orleans,¹⁴ and expressed a desire that Harrison send an inquiry to Governor Nicholls.¹⁵ The following day Blaine dispatched a denunciatory telegram to the Louisiana executive.¹⁶ This gesture did not satisfy the Italian government, which insisted that the guilty parties be brought to trial and that an indemnity be granted the families of the victims.¹⁷ Several weeks of fruitless negotiations on these points were climaxed on March 31 by the withdrawal of Fava. Premier Rudini's unwillingness to permit the diplomacy to develop with its customary dilatoriness was traceable to aroused public opinion in Italy and the practical necessities of his unstable coalition cabinet.¹⁸

Blain's reiterated reply to the first Italian demand was necessarily a *non possumus*. In interviews with Fava on March 15, March 25, and March 26, the secretary emphasized that the authorities of an "entirely independent" state which has its own

¹² Blaine to Harrison, March 14, 1891, Volwiler, *op. cit.*, 141.

¹³ Telegram, Fava to Rudini, March 14, 1891, Camera dei deputati, legislatura XVII, sessione unica, 1890-1892, *Raccolta degli atti stampati* (Documenti 2-num. XIX), No. 5, p. 2 (Hereafter cited as Green Book 1).

¹⁴ Fava to Rudini, 16 March, 1891, Green Book I, No. 5, p. 3.

¹⁵ Blaine to Harrison, 14 March, 1891, Volwiler, *op. cit.*, 141.

¹⁶ Blaine to Nicholls, 15 March, 1891, *Foreign Relations*, 1891, 666-667.

¹⁷ Telegram, Rudini to Fava, 19 March, 1891, enc. in Imperiali to Blaine, 19 March, 1891, *Foreign Relations*, 1891, 670; Fava to Blaine, 31 March, 1891, *ibid.*, 676.

¹⁸ *The Times* (London), 2 April, 1891, 7; Fava to Blaine, 21 March, 1891, *Foreign Relations*, 1891, 671; Porter, Minister, to Blaine, 1 April, 1891, *ibid.*, 678-679; and Rudini's remarks, as repeated in H. R. Whitehouse, charge, to Blaine, 7 Sept. 1891, Italy: Despatches, Vol. 25, No. 253 (Confidential). (Department of state manuscript material cited herein is in the National Archives).

laws are "most jealous of their prerogatives and would not permit any interference calculated to impair their autonomous rights."¹⁹ The Italian envoy challenged this interpretation. During a particularly stormy session, Fava replied that it was impossible to persuade either his people or his government that "the exigencies of your internal arrangements do not permit justice to be guaranteed."²⁰ This critical attitude towards the governmental structure of the United States was not diminished by two developments in Louisiana:—Nicholls' reply to Blaine,²¹ which was accurately described as a "long, wordy, carefully composed acknowledgment of the receipt of Mr. Blaine's despatch,"²² and the non-action of the New Orleans grand jury, which announced its inability to hand down any indictments in a report,²³ criticized as being "more like the report of a Committee of Public Safety than a legal narrative."²⁴

In spite of the ruling of the Supreme Court in *Baldwin v. Franks*,²⁵ Harrison and Blaine attempted to discover a constitutional road which would enable the federal government to prosecute the leaders of the New Orleans mob. At their behest,²⁶ Attorney General Miller, on April 11, 1891, directed William Grant, the federal district attorney for the eastern district of Louisiana, to inquire of the United States Court if sections 5508, 5509, 5519 and 5336 of the Revised Statutes would enable the federal govern-

¹⁹ Fava to Rudini, 16 March, 1891, Green Book I, No. 5, p. 4. See also Annex II in Fava to Rudini, 26 March, 1891, Green Book I, No. 13, 18-19; and Fava to Rudini, 27 March, 1891, *ibid.*, No. 16, 22-23.

²⁰ Annex II in Fava to Rudini, 26 March, 1891, Green Book I, No. 13, p. 18.

²¹ Nicholls to Blaine, 21 March, 1891, *Foreign Relations*, 1891, 672.

²² New York *World*, 25 March, 1891, p. 1. For Italian reaction, see Fava to Rudini, 24 March, 1891, Green Book I, No. 11, p. 15; and Fava to Rudini, 26 March, 1891, *Ibid.*, No. 13, p. 16.

²³ Full text in New Orleans *Picayune*, 6 May, 1891, p. 1.

²⁴ New York *Post*, 6 May, 6.

²⁵ 120 U. S. 678. See also W. H. H. Miller, attorney general, to Joel W. Russell, 8 April, 1891, Department of Justice, Miscellaneous Book No. 4, 532. (Department of Justice manuscript material cited herein is in the National Archives.)

²⁶ Blaine to Imperiali, charge, 14 April, 1891, *Foreign Relations*, 1891, 684-685.

ment to indict and prosecute the instigators of the lynching in a federal court.²⁷

Six days later Grant reported that he had brought Miller's question to the attention of Judge Pardee of the Circuit Court and Judge Billings of the District Court. They had replied that, even if it were conceded that the murder of the Italians had been in pursuance of a conspiracy to deprive them, as Italian subjects, of rights guaranteed to them by treaty, still, the decision of the Supreme Court in *Baldwin v. Franks* would act as a bar against a criminal prosecution in a federal court under the cited sections of the Revised Statutes. They added that there were no other statutes "at all applicable" to this case, under which an indictment could be drawn. In conclusion Grant asserted that "no useful purpose can be attained by taking any further action in the matter."²⁸ Consequently the attorney general informed Blaine that he had "became satisfied" that there was no statute under which the leaders of the mob could be prosecuted in the federal courts.²⁹

As the second Italian demand — momentary compensation for the families of the victims — did not encounter any constitutional obstacle, the negotiations following the recall were to center upon it. They throw further light on the problems of the federal government.

The subject of an indemnity was not neglected in the crucial weeks before Fava's departure. During the conversation between the envoy and Blaine on March 15, the latter repeatedly said that a demand for compensation on the part of the families of the murdered men would be favorably received. In his report to Rudini, Fava warned his superior that the funds necessary to pay the reparations would have to be appropriated by Congress, which would not convene until December 4.³⁰ Fava apparently

²⁷ Miller to Grant, 11 April, 1891, Department of Justice Instruction Book No. 11, 401-402.

²⁸ Grant to Miller, 17 April, 1891, Department of Justice File No. 11914-90.

²⁹ Miller to Blaine, 28 April, 1891, *Foreign Relations*, 1891, 686.

³⁰ Fava to Rudini, 16 March, 1891, Green Book I, No. 5, p. 4. This report was received April 2.

received additional assurances from the secretary, for, in a telegram on March 27, he informed the premier that an indemnity would be granted.³¹

The question of indemnity was accorded status in Blaine's note of April 14 to the Italian chargé, Marquis Imperiali, which was apparently designed for public consumption. In it the secretary asserted that if the Italian subjects among the slain had entered the United States legally and were obeying the laws, and if the public officers of New Orleans were guilty of connivance or had failed to take the proper precautions to protect the victims or bring the guilty to trial, the president "would, under such circumstances, feel that a case was established that should be submitted to the consideration of Congress" for the purpose of providing relief for the families of the slain Italians.³² The fact that the secretary himself suggested the procedure previously followed is an indication that the Blaine-Harrison departure was to be the product of circumstances.

A lull during the spring and summer was followed by unsuccessful Italian overtures in the autumn. Serious negotiations were set in motion early in February of the following year, when Imperiali and Blaine held an extended conversation. The secretary finally asked the marquis if \$2500 would be a satisfactory compensation for the family of each of the slain Italian subjects. Since the chargé had received no instructions in regard to this point, he evaded the question. He then inquired of Blaine if there was any way to pay the indemnity without requesting a special appropriation from Congress. He declared that he desired to "avoid delay and useless discussion." Blaine then informed him that the money could be withdrawn from the emergency fund of the state department.³³

³¹ Telegram, Fava to Rudini, 27 March, 1891, Green Book I, No. 16, p. 22.

³² Blaine to Imperiali, 14 April, 1891, *Foreign Relations*, 1891, 685.

³³ Imperiali to Rudini, 5 February, 1892, Camera dei deputati, legislatura XVII, sessione unica, 1890-1892, *Raccolta degli atti stampati* (Documenti 2-num. XIX bis), No. 11, pp. 13-14. (Hereafter cited as Green Book II). Also see Blaine to Harrison, 26 March, 1892, Volwiler, *op. cit.*, 247-248.

After further skirmishing the negotiations reached the stage when only minor details delayed the settlement. The method of paying the reparation was the first of the immediate problems to be solved. On April 1st, Harrison orally requested an opinion from Miller concerning the availability of the emergency fund for the payment of an indemnity to the bereaved families.³⁴ The fact that this procedure was followed indicates that the attorney general attested to its legality.

The final scene was staged in the Department of State on April 13, 1892. Having drawn \$24,330.90 from the contingent fund of the department for "expenses,"³⁵ Blaine handed a check for 125,000 francs to Imperiali, and the two diplomats exchanged notes.³⁶

The settlement, which was revealed by the publication of the formal notes on April 15,³⁷ met with a mixed reception. The American and European press was relatively favorable. The chief criticism was delivered by members of Congress who felt that Harrison's recourse to state department funds was both a blow at their prerogatives and a violation of precedent.³⁸ Apparently only a few American newspapers commented upon the Harrison-Blaine procedure. The St. Paul *Pioneer-Press* (Ind. Rep.) characterized it as "proper and wise," since Congress had shown itself reluctant on previous occasions to pay money indemnities. If the question of an appropriation for Italy had been presented to Congress, it "would have been fought and delayed and haggled over until all the graciousness was taken out of the act."³⁹ On the

³⁴ Department of Justice File No. 11914-90.

³⁵ Department of State: Bureau of Accounts, Bills, 1892. It has often been erroneously asserted that Congress appropriated \$25,000 to be paid to the Italian government. See Clyde Eagleton, *The Responsibility of States in International Law* (New York, 1928), 133; A. F. Tyler, *The Foreign Policy of James G. Blaine* (Minneapolis, 1927), 290-291; Allan Nevins, *American Press Opinion Washington to Coolidge* (New York, 1928), 404, n. 1; D. S. Muzzey, *James G. Blaine; A Political Idol of Other Days* (New York, 1934), 413.

³⁶ Imperiali to Rudini, 13 April, 1892, Green Book II, No. 20, p. 20. The chargé also telegraphed the news to the premier. *Ibid.*

³⁷ New York *World*, 15 April, 1892, p. 5.

³⁸ New York *Herald*, 16 April, 1892, p. 5.

³⁹ 16 April, 1892, p. 4.

other hand, the Charleston (S.C.) *News and Courier* (Dem.) asserted that only on the basis of the doctrine that the end justifies the means could Harrison be commended. Arguing that the settlement was in the nature of a treaty of peace, this Democratic organ averred that it should not have been concluded without the consent of Congress. It criticized the device Harrison adopted to avoid the necessity of a Congressional examination as a "mere trick."⁴⁰

Approximately two weeks after the announcement of the settlement the Democratic majority in the House seized an opportunity to criticize Harrison's procedure. During the consideration of the state department appropriation bill on April 30, the clerk read the recommendation to assign \$80,000 for the use of the president in meeting "unforeseen emergencies arising in the diplomatic and consular service."⁴¹ James H. Blount, Georgia Democrat, offered an amendment reducing the sum to \$60,000,²⁴ and John L. Chipman, a Michigan Democrat, asked that the House stipulate that no part of this appropriation should be paid to any foreign government "in settlement of any claim of such power against the United States."⁴³

The ensuing debate on the Blount and Chipman amendments was brisk, with both sides employing extensively the technique of asking questions for the purpose of expressing implied opinions rather than for eliciting answers. While party lines were adhered to strictly, the conflict was more than a series of partisan declamations delivered by politicians motivated by the proximity of the November elections. It was also another incident in the seemingly ceaseless struggle between the executive and Congress for control of foreign relations. The Democrats shrewdly postured as zealous defenders of Congressional prerogatives and virtually all of their spokesmen endeavored to confine their attack to Harrison's alleged abuse of his powers.

⁴⁰ 16 April, 1892, p. 4.

⁴¹ 23 Cong. Rec. 3508.

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 3813.

The most vocal Democrats in the discussion were Blount, Chipman, James B. McCreary and William C. P. Breckinridge, both of Kentucky, and Benton McMillin and Nicholas N. Cox, both of Tennessee. Blount said that their aim was to safeguard Congress against a repetition of such executive usurpation in an incident in which it might differ with the administration.⁴⁴ Their theme, as expressed by Chipman, was that, although nobody assailed either the amount involved in the settlement or the propriety of an indemnity, the "important question is the principle involved."⁴⁵ They stressed several arguments. First, if Harrison's conduct in this instance was constitutional, then he alone could determine in the future what attitude the government should take in regard to any foreign difficulty. As Jerry Simpson of Kansas asserted, the president had "assumed the functions of the Senate and of Congress."⁴⁶ Second, they denied that the president, without the intervention of either house, has the power to settle diplomatic difficulties and pay claims that may arise under such circumstances without a special appropriation for the purpose. Cleveland, it was pointed out, had followed a different and proper procedure in the Rock Springs incident. Third, it was erroneously alleged that Harrison created the precedent that the federal government is responsible for injuries suffered by foreign subjects in the individual states. Yet, under the American form of government, the president is constitutionally unable to do this. Fourth, the Democrats repudiated the precedent that a particular fund given to the executive for one purpose can be used for an entirely different subject, which had not been contemplated at the time of the appropriation. It was avowed that the Italian imbroglio did not constitute an emergency — in the real sense of the word — arising in the diplomatic and consular service, and did not come within the category of secret service; it was merely a diplomatic difficulty.⁴⁷

The Republican defense lacked both the volume and the vigor

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 3808.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 3813.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 3810. ff.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 3808 ff.

of the Democratic assault. It was dominated by Robert R. Hitt of Illinois, who was aided by Charles A. Boutelle of Maine and Philip S. Post of New York. Hitt argued that the incident was an emergency because the payment of a small sum was sufficient to restore friendly relations. Asserting that Italo-American relations were then particularly important, he claimed that, since the "force of the act lay in doing it at once," it was an actual emergency. He stressed that delay and "apparent haggling" in Congress might have defeated the purpose of the administration which had been the "prompt and cordial restoration of amicable relations." In conclusion he made an appeal to the patriotism of his colleagues, and urged them to trust the "loyal zeal and skill and patriotism" of the president.⁴⁸ Post maintained that the emergency fund "was positively put at the disposal of the president to serve the best interests of the government."⁴⁹

The House agreed to the Blount amendment reducing the appropriation from \$80,000 to \$60,000. Three days later, the House voted 51 to 23 in favor of Chipman's proposal.⁵⁰ The Senate, which was still Republican, struck out the Chipman amendment and restored the original appropriation of \$80,000 on June 7.⁵¹ There was neither a debate nor a roll call on the matter in the Senate. As the result of a conference, the House acquiesced in the elimination of the Chipman amendment, and the Senate agreed to the reduction of the appropriation to \$60,000.⁵² Thus the Democrats achieved only a partial victory for their plan to censure Harrison and to re-emphasize Congressional prerogatives.

Thereafter Congress, through the exercise of its control over appropriations, played a vital role in the settlement of claims arising out of mob outbreaks against aliens. Harrison's successors did not ignore the sensitive legislators. Cleveland in the Walsen-

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 3810.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 3812.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 3813.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 3885. The division was not recorded, unfortunately.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 5107.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 5808-5809.

burg⁵⁴ incident, McKinley in the Hahnville,⁵⁵ Yreka,⁵⁶ Lasalle,⁵⁷ Tallulah,⁵⁸ and Erwin⁵⁹ cases, Theodore Roosevelt in the same Erwin⁶⁰ affair and Wilson in the Tampa⁶¹ and South Omaha⁶² outbreaks, adhered to the previously established policy of recommending to Congress that it appropriate funds to indemnify the families of the victims. The legislative rebuke to Harrison may have been a factor in inducing this subsequent consideration for cherished Congressional prerogatives.

In each of the post-1891 outbreaks the customary pattern of events unfolded. The constitutional gap remained unbridged in spite of the recommendations of Harrison,⁶³ McKinley,⁶⁴ Roosevelt,⁶⁵ and Taft⁶⁶ that Congress pass the legislation necessary to confer jurisdiction upon the federal courts in cases involving injuries to resident aliens. The federal government still occupies its uncomfortable position. In international law it is responsible for the protection of aliens, yet under our constitutional system it is unable to take the necessary measures to effect this or to bring legal action against the ringleaders of a mob which injures them. Its only recourse is to exhort the states and to provide indemnities.

⁵⁴ See message of 3 Feb., 1896, *House Ex. Docs.*, No. 195, 54 Cong., 1 Sess., 1; appropriation, 29 Stat. 267.

⁵⁵ See message of 3 May, 1897, *House Ex. Docs.*, No. 37, 55 Cong., 1 Sess., 1; appropriation, 30 Stat. 106.

⁵⁶ See message of 18 Jan., 1898, *House Ex. Docs.*, No. 237, 55 Cong., 2 Sess., 1; appropriation, 30 Stat. 653.

⁵⁷ See message of 6 Dec., 1900, *Senate Reports*, No. 1832, 56 Cong., 2 Sess., 2; appropriation, 31 Stat. 1010.

⁵⁸ See message of 26 Feb., 1901, *Senate Ex. Docs.*, No. 194, 56 Cong., 2 Sess., 1; appropriation, 31 Stat. 1010.

⁵⁹ See message of 29 Jan., 1901, *Senate Ex. Docs.*, No. 194, 56 Cong., 1 Sess., 1.

⁶⁰ See message of 7 Jan., 1902, *Senate Ex. Docs.*, No. 95, 57 Cong., 1 Sess., 1; appropriation, 32 Stat. 1032.

⁶¹ See message of 26 June, 1913, *House Ex. Docs.*, No. 105, 63 Cong., 1 Sess., 1; appropriation, 38 Stat. 1229.

⁶² See message of 14 Jan. 1916, *House Ex. Docs.*, No. 576, 64 Cong., 1 Sess., 1; appropriation, 40 Stat. 917.

⁶³ Message of 9 Dec., 1891, *Foreign Relations*, 1891, vi.

⁶⁴ Message of 5 Dec., 1899, *Foreign Relations*, 1899, xxii-xxiv; Message of 3 Dec., 1900, *Foreign Relations*, 1900, xxii-xxiii.

⁶⁵ Message of 3 Dec., 1906, *Foreign Relations*, 1906, xlivi-xliv.

⁶⁶ Inaugural message of 4 March, 1909, *Presidential Addresses and State Papers of William Howard Taft from March 4, 1909 to March 4, 1910*, (New York, 1910), Vol. I, 60.

The Ordeal of the Social Sciences*

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Science affects civilization in two ways. The development of "tools" is a function of the advancement of science, and so is the development of "ideas." I put these words in quotation marks to indicate that I am quoting from common usage, but a usage from which it may be important for us to take exception. In ordinary experience the difference between a "tool" and an "idea" is both clear enough and important enough to justify the usage. But who would deny that every tool is the embodiment of an idea or complex of ideas, or that every idea appears in a variety of embodiments from which it is indissociable? In a sense the distinction is one of immediacy, or generality. Science affects civilization both directly and indirectly, immediately and remotely, in very specific ways and in very general ways.

Nevertheless the difference of degree is sufficient to be recognized as qualitative. The indirect and cumulative effects of "tools" are very great. In the long run they may even be indissociable from the impact of "ideas." But this long-run effect is not apparent in the shape of any particular tool or even in the immediate circumstances of its use. Only recently someone has remarked that the superstate is inevitable in a world already committed to super-bombers. This may be true, but it is by no means obvious; whereas, on the contrary, everybody feels the momentousness of the "ideas" which are quite generally thought to be at stake in the present war.

Throughout modern times the ideas of science have been impacting upon Western civilization with results the momentousness of which are impossible to overestimate. This condition is general, on both sides. The sciences have all contributed to the general

* A reply to "The Theory of Economic Progress," by D. L. Miller, *Southwestern Social Science Quarterly*, December, 1944, 159-177.

effect. In this regard at least there is no operational difference between the "natural" sciences and the "social" sciences. Again I use quotation marks to indicate a distinction which has become established as an academic convention and is therefore a daily convenience though its analytical significance is far from clear. Drawing sharp, clear lines between sciences, or groups of sciences, is not as easy as it looks. Where does physics leave off and chemistry begin? Where, for that matter, do the "physical" sciences leave off and the "biological" sciences begin? On which side of the line does biochemistry lie, or biophysics? The case of the "natural" and the "social" sciences is no less difficult, and the difficulty is not diminished by the fact that both have impacted upon the ideas of Western civilization in exactly the same way and to exactly the same effect.

To be sure, there are differences of sequence, both historical and logical. Obviously the natural sciences were first in the field. The first impact of the scientific way of thinking upon the folk thought of Western civilization was delivered in the region of cosmology. The victory was complete. But this was due not only to the cogency of astronomy and geology, physics and chemistry, but even more to the supposed dualism of the "outer" world of things and the "inner" world of spirit. This long-standing feature of the folk thought of Western civilization (or perhaps of all civilization) made it relatively easy for folk thought to retreat from the attack of the natural sciences to "previously prepared positions," to wit, those of the "inner" world. Since the definition the natural sciences have no truck with the "inner" world, the battle is over so far as they are concerned. Consequently they are now held in general esteem. Since our folk thought seems to have been able to relinquish the crude cosmology of an earlier day without suffering vital harm, the natural sciences are even forgiven for that historic assault upon common belief. They are, it seems, no longer to be feared. Indeed, as our chief source of new and improved tools they are assiduously cultivated by all the "practical" people who see in tools only an opportunity for immediate exploitation and do not see that superbombers must eventually be followed by the superstate.

But this view of the historical sequence overlooks the logical sequence by which the natural and social sciences are still united. Is the dualism of "outer" and "inner" worlds valid? Does it forever divide the natural and social sciences? These questions constitute the ordeal through which the social sciences are now passing. They can be understood only in terms of the ordeal through which Western civilization itself is passing, since it is that process alone which gives these questions operational meaning.

The transformation which Western civilization has been undergoing in the last few centuries exhibits three rather well-marked stages. The first might be called ecclesiastical. Its outcome was the separation of church and state. This was followed by a second stage which might be called political. In this stage government has undergone a transformation more profound than is yet generally realized. Not only has sovereignty been transferred from kings to peoples, the principle of rule by divine right is profoundly different from that of responsibility for the public welfare.

Neither of these changes has been completely realized anywhere. Indeed, that would be impossible so long as the larger process continues to pass from stage to stage, since each successive stage retains something of the meaning of the preceding one or might even be said to be the same process in a more advanced stage. Divine right could hardly have been repudiated by a community in which the church still permeated the state to such a degree as to constitute a theocracy.

This is conspicuously true of the third stage, in which we now find ourselves. Having passed more or less through the ecclesiastical and the political phases of the transformation, we now find our economic institutions in process of more or less fundamental modification. Whether this is the last and consummatory stage of the whole transformation of Western civilization, who can say? But certainly it is climactic. Not only does it carry over much of the meaning of earlier conflicts, the fundamental and all-embracing issues are therefore presented with heightened intensity. To speak of the changes now going on as "total"

revolution is certainly an exaggeration, but the fact that such an exaggeration has become a commonplace is at least an indication of the climactic character of the third or economic phase of the larger process.

The ordeal through which the social sciences are now passing is incidental to this situation. For the social sciences the issue is the same as the one by which the social and economic institutions of Western civilization are confronted. Are the social sciences continuous with the natural sciences? If so, then nothing can prevent the transformation which has already affected church and state from proceeding to modify the remainder of the social structure in similar fashion. The alternative—rejection and elimination of science as a whole, natural as well as social, and return to a sort of medieval *status quo ante*—is no longer possible. Western civilization is too fully committed to natural science to be able any longer to elect such an alternative; and to say that it is also and in similar degree committed to separation of church and state and to the sovereignty of the people is to say the same thing in different language. It is too late to turn the clock back to the thirteenth century, or more safely the tenth. Hence the crucial question is, To what have we already committed ourselves?

Many social scientists on both sides of this question are already fully aware of its import. An extensive bibliography could easily be assembled to substantiate this claim, but I will content myself with an instance or two, intentionally drawn from the negative side of the argument with a view to showing that people who deny the continuity of the social with the natural sciences know what they are up to. In a recent essay on "Fact and Value in Social Science," Professor Frank Knight leads off with the following declaration.

In the field of social policy, the pernicious notion of instrumentalism, resting on the claim or assumption of a parallelism between social and natural science is actually one of the most serious of the sources of danger which threaten destruction to the values of what we have called civilization. Any conception such as social engineering or social technology has meaning only in relation to the activities of a super-dictatorship, a government which

would own as well as rule society at large, and would use it for the purposes of the governors.¹

In this passage Professor Knight makes it fairly clear that he regards the probable outcome of social and economic revolution with extreme disfavor, and that he considers this outcome virtually inevitable, granted the "parallelism" of the social and natural sciences. It would be an injustice to say that he *therefore* denies this parallelism. Doubtless he denies it on the basis of what he believes to be the fact. But at all events he is clearly aware of the significance of the facts, whatever they are.

What are they? What do people assert when they deny the continuity of the social sciences with the natural sciences? These questions have recently received a strikingly clear and unequivocal answer from another economist, Professor F. A. Hayek. The whole question, he says, "is nothing else than whether the social sciences could possibly discuss the kind of problems with which they are concerned in purely behavioristic terms — or even whether consistent behaviorism is possible."²

I beg you to remember (he says in closing an argument which was originally directed at the members of the Cambridge University Moral Science Club) that these disciplines deal with a world at which from our position we necessarily look in a different manner from that in which we look at the world of nature. To employ a useful metaphor: while at the world of nature we look from the outside, we look at the world of society from the inside . . .³

Furthermore he makes it very clear that this metaphor is something more than an expository device. The basic postulate of all the social sciences, so he thinks, is "that we can derive from the knowledge of our own mind in an 'a priori' or 'deductive' or 'analytic' fashion, an (at least in principle) *exhaustive* classification of all the possible forms of intelligent behavior."⁴ This "inner" self-knowledge is, he thinks, unique. "In discussing what we regard as other people's conscious actions we invariably interpret their action on the analogy of our own mind: that is, . . . we

¹ *Science and Man*, edited by Ruth Nanda Anshen, New York 1942, 325, 326.

² "The Facts of the Social Sciences," *Ethics*, October, 1943, p. 6.

³ *Ibid.*, 13.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 8.

group their actions into classes or categories which we know solely from the knowledge of our own mind."⁵

Again, it would be an injustice to suggest that Professor Hayek insists upon the dualism of the "inner" and "outer" worlds and denies the possibility of what he calls "behaviorism" because he knows that the alternative is revolution. Nevertheless his other works make it abundantly clear that he does know. So does the whole intellectual world. That, of course, is why "behaviorism" is a fighting issue; and that is why John Dewey, as the foremost exponent of "behaviorism," is the object of execration by all the adherents of the old intellectual and institutional regime.

The question is not whether "behaviorism" is possible, nor even whether it is consistent. Used in this fashion the word "behaviorism" designates the attempt to give a naturalistic account of the human "mind." It does not, of course, deny the existence of "mental" activity, any more than Darwinian evolution denies the existence of the human species. But it does treat the "mind" as a part of the same universe as the body and the earth on which its feet are planted and the stars by which the earth is warmed and lighted. No one could possibly deny that very considerable progress has in fact been made along these lines, nor that the results achieved are indeed consistent with all our knowledge of the natural universe and have been arrived at by the same methods of observation and demonstration as those which have yielded all our other scientific knowledge.

This knowledge is not consistent with ancient myths—the myths which once peopled the world with invisible beings and which still persists in the belief that we ourselves are "really" creatures of that sort and so are known only to ourselves by some sort of spiritual alchemy. And those myths, as we all know, are deeply embedded in the institutions of organized society. How deeply, nobody knows. At one time intelligent men seriously believed that all the cloud-capped towers of organized society would crumble if it should be established that the earth is not the center of the universe. No such catastrophe occurred. But

⁵ *Ibid.*, 5.

on the other hand the intellectual revolution has not yet run its course. Will civilization survive the secularization of kings? Will it survive the naturalization of mankind itself? Professor Knight thinks not, and again many intelligent and educated men, probably a substantial majority, share his apprehension.

It is this apprehension of imminent disaster that imposes an ordeal upon the social sciences. This is no new thing, nor is it peculiar to the social sciences. The suggestion has often been made that natural science and social science are generically different in this regard, since the stars and the atoms do not resist scientific inspection whereas people do. I have myself been guilty of this error. For it is an error. People do not resist inspection; they only resist having their cherished beliefs and sacred traditions exposed to the cold scrutiny of science. But this they have done always, and quite as bitterly in the days when the flatness of the earth was at issue as now. This is true in spite of the fact that the forces opposed to science are now making a last-ditch stand. For science has more momentum now than ever before. The opposition is intense, but the social sciences derive a compensating advantage from the fact that science itself is now established, so that the opposition is limited to trying to detach the social sciences from the parent body.

This effort takes two forms. One is defeatism. In its simplest form this is the conviction that "It can't be done," that science can never penetrate the supposed mysteries of the human 'spirit,' mysteries which of course humanity shares with the "real" universe. Unfortunately for its exponents, this line of argument is negative, since it necessarily takes the form: "Science has not yet explained this or that, and therefore it can never do so." But science has a disconcerting way of confounding such predictions. By sufficient adroitness its actual achievements can be denied and concealed, but only from people who have their eyes tight shut anyhow, and even so only for a short time.⁶

⁶ One of the most eminent practitioners of this method is Professor Mortimer J. Adler. See, for a striking example, his *What Man Has Made of Man*, New York, 1937. In this book he first stipulates that no account shall be taken of the social sciences and then triumphantly demonstrates that (on the basis of this stipulation) science is quite unable to explain social behavior.

In recent years, to be sure, this same defeatism has appeared in a guise so scientific in appearance as to make many friends even among social scientists. I refer to mores nihilism. Half a century or so ago social scientists began to criticise the naive evolutionism of the later nineteenth century and the still more naive assumption of the "white man's burden." This criticism produced a wholesome respect for primitive peoples, but it also posed a very serious theoretical question. If the beliefs and mores of the various peoples of the world derive their validity and sanction only from the credence of the people who hold them, what shall we say of our own traditions? Have they no more validity than other peoples'?

Until quite recently the social hazard implicit in this question prevented the general acceptance of what might be called the doctrine of social relativity. But then, only two or three decades ago, a great discovery was made. If the foundation of our own myths and mores is no surer than that of primitive peoples, it follows also that it is no weaker. What we have pardoned by comprehending in their case we can similarly justify in our own. Thus the mores doctrine, which only a few decades ago seemed to "threaten the destruction of the values of what we have called civilization," has now become the bulwark of conservatism. It has even seemed to bring science to the support of supernaturalism. For if primitive peoples hoe their gardens in obedience to the dictates of their ancestors, who can say where the efficacy of magic rites leaves off and that of hoes begins? And then who can say how much our own civilization still owes to the stabilizing influence of tradition? For the matter of that, who can say that our confidence in the rituals prescribed by science has any more justification than the confidence of the savage in the dictates of his ancestors? In both cases, so the argument runs, the pudding can be proved only in the eating; and the yams of the primitive offer proof as obdurate as any we can muster.

As a matter of fact modern civilization does have something more than yams to offer. Sophisticated as defeatism has become, it is still denial; and as such it can be met with counter-affirmation.

Some of its most extreme exponents carry their relativism to the point of denying that even their own doctrine—their relativism itself—has any more validity than the present climate of opinion. But most scientists still insist that science has a validity which all myths lack; that two plus two equals four is true, if not in every possible universe, at least throughout the universe of discourse in which men count.

But at this point the opposition takes another form: the charge that science, and now-a-days especially social science, "fails to take account" of various matters of prime human significance such as values, mind, novelty, and the like. The effectiveness of these reproaches derives from the fact that they are indeed, in a certain sense, true and undeniable. It is perfectly true, for example, that science tells us nothing whatever of the "end," or "goal," or "ultimate objective" of human existence; and obviously this is no temporary lapse. With all the help of all the sciences we never do and never will find out "what we are here for."

Does this mean that science has reached the end of its tether? Again the obvious answer is the fact of the social sciences. Professor Adler may propose to set them aside, but they are here nevertheless; and they do make quite perceptible headway in the analysis of social behavior. Thus it is entirely feasible to distinguish between the use of hoes and the practice of magic rites and even to demonstrate by controlled variation which is responsible for the growth of the yams; and pursuing this distinction in our own civilization it is also entirely feasible to identify in current practice what has a demonstrable connection with primeval hoes and what with ancient myth and magic. It is even possible to see that in the manner of their growth the two processes are very different.

No one would deny that the names we give such processes may be more or less inept, or that the analysis is always incomplete. But this is no less true of science generally. What could be more inept than the designation "atom"? For reasons I have indicated I am by no means entirely satisfied with any terms which have thus far been identified with these processes.

Furthermore no one would deny that any given analysis may be extended and amplified by future work. But when criticism takes the form of denouncing such analysis as "vicious"⁷ it is obvious that something more than analytical procedure is at stake.

What is wrong with our analysis is that it "fails to take account of" such matters as "consciousness," "mind," and its "creative" activities. These are ways of designating the range of phenomena to which all the social sciences give their entire attention.⁸ On the face of it such a charge is patently false. It makes sense at all only on the assumption that such words have quite a different

⁷ As Professor D. L. Miller does in his article, "The Theory of Economic Progress," published in the preceding issue (December, 1944) of this journal, 155 ff. In accusing me of "vicious abstraction" (159) for having, as he says, represented "that institutions can be separated in fact from technology" (161), whereas I was at some pains to convince my readers that they can be distinguished by analysis but of course never exist separately in fact, Professor Miller is clearly setting his stage for a *coup de main*. This is also true of his representation of my analysis of technology as "simply" combination (160). (I am reminded of Dewey's remark on the part the word "merely" has played in criticisms of his work. Professor Miller uses this word too on p. 161).

But I am even more dismayed by the passage in which Professor Miller represents me as defining an institution as "something one 'goes to'" (168). His footnote has disappeared; but his quotations quite unmistakably identify the passage to which he has reference, and it is one in which I was (quite clearly, as I thought) criticizing the vagueness with which the term "institution" has been used. Surely no one could read that page in my book and seriously maintain that I am so defining institutions. In this connection let me also call attention to the passage on p. 160 of Professor Miller's article in which, in the course of an exposition of my notions of technology, he seems to impute to me the supposition that all machines stem from six original machines. He has no ground for such an imputation. Indeed, in this case my guess is that the suggestion is an inadvertence.

I do not mean to accuse Professor Miller of deliberate misrepresentation. His criticism is much more interesting and much more important than that, since it goes to show how completely one may misconceive something when his attention is fixed on something else.

⁸ Thus, for example, my *Theory of Economic Progress* is most explicitly concerned with ways of thinking and nothing else: the way we think about economic problems, and the way the human mind works in the process of social change. For Professor Miller to chide me for ignoring "mind," and to represent me as holding that "the technological process can be separated from ideas" (p. 162), is highly paradoxical to say the least. I am especially intrigued by his reproach for my "neglect of such great men as Galileo and Newton" (*loc. cit.*) in view of the actual appearance of these very individuals in my pages.

meaning to the critic from the one he finds so objectionable in contemporary social science. What is wrong with "behaviorism" is that it gives a different account of "mind" and its "creative" activities from the one that has come down to us, refined and sophisticated but still unmistakably the same, from the myth and magic of our prehistoric ancestors.⁹

The failure of the social sciences today is the same as the failure of natural science three centuries ago. At that time astronomy was reproached for the failure of its telescopes to reveal not the heavens but Heaven. The ordeal of science is imposed not by the opacity of the phenomena but by the tenacity of myth. In this regard the present situation of the social sciences is identical with that in which the natural sciences were struggling only a short time ago, except for this difference: we are now approaching the crisis of the ordeal.

Recognition of this fact gives rise to two reflections. More is involved in the present crisis than was the case in the earlier stages of the same process. But the comparative ease with which, as it now seems, we weathered earlier ordeals gives ground for hope that we shall weather this one too and that our present apprehensions will very shortly prove to have been grossly exaggerated.

⁹ Since I feel sure that Professor Miller will object to this, let me call attention to his assertion that "water is *qualitatively different*" (p. 163; his italics) from oxygen and hydrogen. This proposition seems to stand somewhere near the center of his thinking, since it exemplifies "novelty" by which in turn the "creative" function of mind seems to be defined. It is completely opaque to me. In what sense is water qualitatively different from everything else in the universe? One might say that everything is different from everything else inasmuch as it is something else, but that hardly seems to make much sense. But then, what sense does qualitatively different water make? In what sense, if not the one here indicated, does "behaviorism" (or whatever you care to call it) "fail to take account" of "mind"?

Newspapers in the Presidential Campaign

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A national political campaign is still a contest for headlines. True, the major speeches are broadcast over the radio and heard by millions of voters. The candidates travel thousands of miles, and are seen by hundreds of thousands of people. Nevertheless, for his information about campaign tours, about key points in major speeches, about statements to the press, and about charges and counter-charges hurled by the supporters of presidential candidates, the average voter must rely largely upon the news reports that reach him through the radio and the newspapers.

But if a campaign is aimed at getting headlines, success necessarily depends in part upon the willingness of newspapers to report speeches and movements of candidates and their campaign supporters. That fact raises important questions about newspaper policy. Do the newspapers give fair space to the arguments of both major parties? How nearly equal, or how unequal, is the prominence they give in the way of page and position of news item? Do they frame headlines in such ways as to give attention to candidates and other speakers in proportion to their importance in the communities in which the newspapers circulate?

It has been estimated that 80 or 85 percent of the major daily papers usually support the Republican candidate for president. It is recognized that the owners of these papers should be free to express their views in the editorial columns, and that their news reporting should not be subject to governmental control. But the public feels that news reports ought to be impartial, and that public statements and speeches ordinarily should be headlined in such ways as to give emphasis to what the candidates themselves have emphasized. Although a large part of the public has doubtless felt that altogether too often newspapers show favoritism in their selection and printing of news, it is difficult

to secure positive evidence of discrimination except in the most flagrant cases of misrepresentation and omission.

Is it possible to compute with reasonable objectivity the relationships between editorial policies and the partiality or impartiality with which newspapers report the news? If quantitative values can be devised for measuring the news reports, a political campaign provides excellent subjectmatter for such computations. During the 1936 campaign this writer, by the use of a simple set of rules, measured the amount of space and the attention that was given to each of the presidential candidates by twenty daily and weekly newspapers. It was found that, almost without exception, more space and more attention were given by all the newspapers tested to the candidates supported in their editorial columns, and that the extent of the advantage varied directly as the intensity of the editorial support.¹

This year a similar survey has been made of fifteen prominent daily newspapers. Two bases of measurement have been used: the amount of space given to news about each party, and the attention value of the news reports as indicated by the position of each item and by the size of the headline. In measuring the attention value a scale of measurement was devised, partly on the basis of the earlier experience, partly on the basis of findings reported by a national advertising research agency which has long been investigating reader attention to newspaper reports.

Three items were considered in evaluating newspaper attention: the size of the headline, the position of the news item on the page, and the page on which it appeared. Headlines were given a scale of point values, ranging from five points for a top streamer down to one point for a heading smaller than the one column, top heading usual to the front page of the particular paper, while of larger type than the newsprint. No additional point values were given to deck headings, except those that served to locate the columns in which news items appeared under streamers; none to continuation headings on inside pages, except those that appeared

¹ "Newspapers in the Campaign," *Social Science* 12; 213-215 (April, 1937).

at the top of a page or covered a width of more than one column. Two additional points were given for each news report that started on a front page, and one for each inside or back page item. Finally, three points were added for each item that started at the top of a page or immediately under a top picture, two points for each item that started in the upper half of a page but below a top item, and one for each item that started below the fold of the paper. Column inches of news space were measured, but there was, on the whole, such close correlation between the measures of attention value and the number of column inches of news that the latter will not be reported here.

News reports were credited to the respective presidential candidates and recorded as favorable or unfavorable. All items were included which referred to the presidential or vice presidential candidates or to the national party organizations, including the "new deal," and the total amount of news attention thus recorded for a newspaper was counted as 100%. News reports regarding current actions and decisions of the President in his executive capacity were counted whenever the headlines implied an importance to the political campaign or tended to produce either favorable or unfavorable political reactions. The number of items excluded because they dealt solely with the President rather than the presidential candidate was surprisingly small.

Reports of speeches by supporting campaigners, of statements about the campaign, and of plans and movements of the candidates were credited in each case to the party or candidate whose name appeared in the headings, and were counted as favorable or unfavorable according to the probable effect of the headline report on a reader who might be still undecided. However, news reports of speeches by the presidential and vice presidential candidates were in all cases counted as favorable to the speakers, even though the headlines occasionally had an unfavorable tone, such as "F.D.R. Woos Labor Vote." Accordingly, if there is any mistaken emphasis in the following report of conclusions, it is most probably in the direction of underestimating the news advantages given to the editorially favored candidates.

Having adopted this plan of measurement, the writer proceeded to measure the political news reports in fifteen metropolitan daily papers. For four of these papers the measurement was applied for a period of four weeks prior to the election. For the others, with one exception, a twelve day period was covered. Two of the dailies measured gave strong editorial support to President Roosevelt, and two others supported him with less enthusiasm. The remaining eleven papers, with some three-fourths of the total circulation, supported Governor Dewey.

It cannot be said that impartial newspaper reporting would necessarily result in an equal apportionment of favorable news attention to the candidates of the two major parties. But it may be significant that the *New York Times*, which gave its editorial support somewhat reluctantly to Roosevelt, gave him only a slight advantage in attention and news space, as it had done also in 1936. This was true for the four weeks period covered for that paper and also for the last twelve days before the election. The Democratic candidates for president and vice president were given between 50% and 51% of the political news attention for both periods. However, because of the attention given to speeches made by other national figures, such as Vice President Wallace, Secretary Ickes, War Mobilizer Byrnes and Donald Nelson, a larger proportion of the news about the President's campaign was favorable than was the case with news about the Republican candidates. In terms of the proportion of "favorable news," as determined by crediting to each party its own favorable news reports together with the unfavorable reports about the opposing candidates, the Democrats received 57% of the favorable news attention and 56% of the favorable news space. It is entirely possible that this ratio represents an impartial reporting in the New York area, in view of the newsworthiness of the President and the leading campaigners in his behalf.

Although the *New York Herald Tribune* supported Dewey in its editorial columns, its apportionment of political news did not differ widely from that of the *New York Times*. A major portion of its news attention went to Dewey and Bricker in the early

weeks of October, but during the last twelve days its attention shifted, with the result that for the four weeks period the Republicans had only a slight advantage in news attention, and the favorable news reports were divided almost fifty-fifty between the two parties.

Leading Chicago papers exhibited midely different policies in reporting campaign news. The *Chicago Tribune*, which in 1936, had given the Republican candidate more than 75% of its news attention, this time gave 52% of its news attention to the Democratic candidates. To that extent the Tribune appears to have changed its news policy. But most of the attention given to Roosevelt and Truman was unfavorable, with the result that, even when reports of speeches by the President were counted in his favor despite some adverse headlines, the Democratic candidates could be credited with only 18% of the favorable news reports for the four weeks period and 15% for the last twelve days. The *Chicago Sun*, on the other hand, gave 59% of its news attention and 66% of its favorable news reports, as well as strong editorial support, to the President. Chicago's Hearst paper, editorially favorable to Dewey, followed a unique policy during the six days for which it was examined. In the last three week-day issues before the election, the *Herald-American* had no political news on its front page. On its inside pages more than 70% of the news attention was given to the Democratic candidates, but that attention was unfavorable by a wide margin. This paper made a specialty of repeating charges that Senator Truman had once been a member of the Ku Klux Klan.

The *St. Louis Post Dispatch* gave 66% of its news attention and 72% of its favorable news reports for the last twelve days preceding the election to the Democratic candidates, whom it supported editorially. Papers that gave considerable advantages to the Republican candidates included the *Denver Post*, which gave Dewey 56% of its news attention and 69% of its favorable news reports, the *Christian Science Monitor* (57% and 65%), the *Boston Herald* (60% and 57%), and the *San Francisco Chronicle* (61% and 55%). The *Topeka Capital*, Senator Capper's

daily, divided its news attention almost equally, but gave Dewey the benefit of 70% of its favorable news reports. The *Kansas City Star* gave slightly more than one half of its new attention to the Democratic candidates, and slightly more than one-half of its favorable news reports to the Republicans. Republican in its editorial outlook, this paper took a friendly attitude toward Missouri's vice presidential candidate. The *Cincinnati Enquirer*, on the other hand, gave almost no news attention either to Senator Truman or to Vice President Wallace, but the President received 52% of its news attention and 42% of its favorable news reports. The *Portland Oregonian* gave a small advantage to the Republican candidates, whereas the *Springfield Republican* gave a small advantage to the Democrats. Both leaned in the direction of their editorial policies.

Most of the differences in attention and favorable news reports had to do with speeches of supporting campaigners, reports of pre-election polls and surveys, and other stories of the kind that accompany every campaign and reflect favorably or unfavorably on one of the candidates. Due to the fact that war news monopolized the streamers, reports of speeches by the presidential candidates usually drew headlines of about equal prominence. But vice presidential candidates sometimes received scant attention from unfriendly newspapers. Pre-election polls and reports of betting odds were reported in interesting ways. One Republican paper reported only its own poll, which indicated, erroneously, that Dewey would carry the state. Most of the Republican papers that reported national polls emphasized the uncertainty as to results, whereas Democratic papers headlined President Roosevelt's advantage. Two Republican papers apparently saw no news value in betting odds, whereas others headlined the doubtful reliability of that type of evidence and cast doubts on the possibility of finding any Democratic money at odds of one to three. Strong Democratic papers, on the other hand, considered the reports of betting odds worthy of front page attention. In a few papers, like the *New York Times*, one could find almost all political news that appeared in any of the fifteen dailies, except news that was essentially local in character.

If the apportionment of news attention and favorable news reports as given by the *New York Times* is regarded as impartial, the conclusion can be drawn that, in every instance, the other dailies that were examined gave more favorable news attention to the candidates whom they supported editorially than to the opposing candidates. And even if a fifty-fifty division were considered impartial, only the *New York Herald Tribune* could be said to have given an advantage in favorable news reports to the candidates whom it opposed editorially. This positive correlation between news attention and editorial policy was characteristic of liberal and conservative newspapers alike, though it must be remembered in that connection that the latter were in the large majority and reached many more readers.

It might be argued that there is no intent to color news reports one way or the other, but that reporters and editors present news as they see it. So it would be said that the newspaper editors present what they, in their best judgment, consider important, and that news reports are favorable or unfavorable without purposeful discrimination. Even if that were true, it would not change the fact that the news attention varies according to the editorial policies of the papers. It is to be remembered, too, that editors do not write the news reports, and it is to be doubted that news reporting from large city offices would be as consistently correlated with editorial policies as it now is but for those in high position who have made known their desire to have certain candidates put in better light than others.

Changes in Corporate Structure 1940-1943¹

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Corporate structure is a broad term; it includes the capital structure — the assets — and the financial structure — the liabilities. Components of the capital structure are current assets, fixed assets, investments, prepaid expenses and miscellaneous assets. The components of the financial structure are current liabilities, long-term liabilities, reserves, capital stock, earned surplus, and capital surplus.

Current assets are comprised of cash and items, such as receivables and marketable securities, which are available for conversion into cash within the following year. Fixed assets include relatively permanent fixtures of the business such as land, buildings, and heavy equipment. Investments are stocks and bonds that the corporation expects to hold among its assets for an indefinite period. Prepaid expenses, and miscellaneous assets are just what their titles imply. The first three categories are of considerable significance in an economy at war. Changes in these categories and in certain items within each category throw light upon such issues as reconversion, the rate of interest, and employment. The purpose of this analysis is therefore to investigate the probable cause and effect relationship between these changes and certain economic issues, as well as to point out the mere quantitative changes.

Current liabilities are comprised of items such as promissory notes, open-book accounts, accrued wages and commissions, dividends declared but unpaid, reserves for federal income and excess profits taxes and so on; obligations which the corporation expects to meet within the following year. Long-term liabilities are comprised of long-term notes, including bonds, which mature

¹ Funds for this study were made available by the University of Texas Research Council.

at a date beyond one year. Reserves are provisions made out of corporate income, for losses expected to occur sometime in the future. Reserves for instance, contingencies, and post-war reconversion illustrate the point. Since the time of the loss is uncertain, provisions for income and excess profits taxes are not included in this category. Capital stock is corporate ownership manifested in stock certificates — either common or preferred. Earned surplus is the accumulated undistributed net profit, and capital surplus is the accumulation of capital gains. Reserves for federal income and excess profits taxes, long-term liabilities, reserves for contingencies and reconversion, capital stock, and earned surplus have all been significantly affected by the war, and these changes in turn have considerable bearing upon the economic issues of security value, long-run rates of interest, and incomes of certain economic groups. Thus, in the analysis of changes in the financial structure probable cause and effect relationships between these changes and certain economic issues will be emphasized.

The quantitative data cited in this article are derived from a study of 150 corporations, each with assets in excess of \$1,000,000, each listed on one of the security exchanges, and each with at least one of its plants in Texas. These companies include most of the leading concerns in twelve manufacturing industries. While all of them do business in Texas, only three of them were incorporated in the State. The time covered in this study is from December 31, 1940 to December 31, 1943.

CHANGES IN THE CAPITAL STRUCTURE

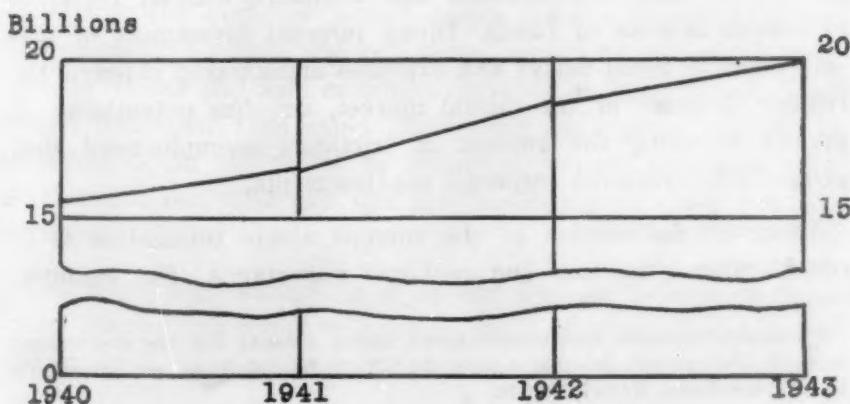
Growth in the assets of manufacturing corporations since 1940 has stimulated considerable interest and investigation. In the twelve industries studied only one, non-ferrous metals, expanded by less than ten per cent during the three-year period. This group, does not include the new plants created with government funds since 1940. Spectacular rates of growth appeared among manufacturers of transportation equipment, automobiles and equipment, machinery, and electrical equipment. Each of these four industries expanded by more than sixty per cent. Assets

of all twelve together expanded from \$15,382,000,000 to \$19,728,000,000, an increase of twenty-eight per cent. Both absolute and relative increase for each industry is shown in Table I.

TABLE I
INCREASE IN TOTAL ASSETS OF 150 CORPORATIONS
1940-1943
(In 000,000's)

Industry	Absolute \$ Increase 1940-43	Relative (%) Increase 1940-43
Automobiles and Equipment except Electrical.....	361	81
Building Material except Lumber and Furnishings.....	62	13
Chemicals and Allied Products.....	453	23
Electrical Machinery and Equipment except		
Household Appliances.....	361	62
Food and Kindred Products.....	309	21
Iron, Steel, and Products.....	711	19
Machinery and Parts except Transportation Equipment.....	309	78
Non-ferrous Metals and Products.....	63	7
Oil and Gas Products.....	703	18
Paper, Lumber, and Allied Products.....	15	11
Rubber Products.....	279	37
Transportation Equipment except Automobiles.....	714	168
Total Increase.....	4345	28

CHART I
TOTAL ASSETS OF 150 MANUFACTURING CORPORATIONS
1940-1943



Further analysis reveals precisely which of the assets have grown and which, if any, have decreased.

Current assets expanded from \$6,105,000,000 to \$10,254,000,000, a relative increase of sixty-eight per cent. In the break-down of current assets it is revealed that almost all of the growth lies in the specific items of cash, receivables, and marketable government debts. Many of the receivables are also government debts, short-term, created in exchange for finished war materials.

Fixed assets decreased by \$16,000,000, negative two tenths of one per cent, and investments in other corporations decreased by \$86,000,000, negative six and eight-tenths per cent. Fixed assets increased during 1941 but decreased in 1942 and 1943. The stabilization, over the period, of fixed assets is partly voluntary and partly due to restrictions by the War Production Board.² It is of some interest to know that while all industries together decreased their holdings of other corporate securities, certain leading industries such as iron and steel, rubber, and transportation equipment increased such holdings.

It is evident in these figures that current assets are the source of expansion. It is also a well known fact that current assets are a measure of corporate liquidity. The economic effects of growing liquidity are widespread. First, it is significant to the problem of reconversion. Corporations with ready cash, receivables, and securities readily convertible into cash are in a favorable position to make replacements and additions without resorting to outside sources of funds. Direct internal investment of this sort tends to avoid delays and expenses encountered through the regular channels of the capital market, and has potentiality of greatly lessening the amount of frictional unemployment that generally accompanies corporate readjustments.

However, distribution of the current assets themselves is of considerable immediate and post-war importance. For example,

² Prepaid expenses and miscellaneous assets account for the discrepancy between the growth in total assets, \$4,345,000,000, and the net growth in these three items, \$4,047,000,000.

cash accumulations increase demand deposits and excess reserves of the commercial banking system. This tends to decrease the rate of interest on commercial loans and thus set the foundation for further credit expansion, and at least some price inflation. However, the question of whether the lower rate of interest will actually cause inflation depends upon whether this variable if of sufficient significance to stimulate borrowing. Increased cash deposits also tend to stimulate buying in the bond market. Commercial banks direct excess reserves to the government debt market, with the effect of increasing the premium on existing issues and consequently forcing down the rate of interest on new issues. Because of the low return on government securities corporation bonds with low risk and higher rates of interest become more attractive to investors — individual and institutional — than heretofore, with the result that such securities also bring premiums, and consequently corporate management revises its interest rate downward on new issues. Increased accumulations of corporation cash have, therefore, repercussions upon the long-run rate of interest of both public and private debt. The pertinent question as to whether this will stimulate further borrowing and further asset-expansion can only be answered by making assumptions as to the significance of this variable to corporate management.

It is important to note at this point, however, that a sudden withdrawal of cash deposits may have a dangerous deflationary effect. If, for instance, large corporations make sudden withdrawals in the post-war period, banks may be forced to dump their security holdings and call their loans with the result that security values will fall, corporate working capital contract, and output decrease. This same effect may be created directly if corporations, in the effort to reconvert, should sell their own government securities and call for liquidation of their own receivables.

The investment account is of special interest because it illustrates the holding-company relationship, and these figures show that at least three major industries have increased their control

and concentrated their power by investing some of their mounting liquid assets in the capital stock and bonds of other corporations. Thus, we may deduce from this that the war has created, at least in some very important industries, a closer structural coordination and thus probably less price competition between firms.

CHANGES IN THE FINANCIAL STRUCTURE

Changes in the asset-structure are obviously of utmost importance in their effect upon cross-sections of the economy. It is also of considerable interest and importance to know precisely the source of asset expansion and to speculate regarding the cause and effect relationships between changes in the source of asset expansion and security values, the rate of interest on new issues, and the incomes of certain economic groups. This requires analysis of the external and the internal techniques of asset-expansion, and involves a complete break-down of the financial structure into those categories that have registered change since 1940. External techniques rely upon sources outside the corporation and internal techniques rely upon sources within the corporation. Therefore, manifestations of external techniques lie in the *instruments* of finance such as promissory notes, open-book accounts,³ certificates of stock, and long-term notes. Promissory notes and open-book accounts are short-term external instruments. Manifestations of internal techniques lie in the *processes*, rather than the instruments, of finance; such as the process of reserve-accumulation, and the process of surplus-accumulation. Internal techniques are corporate savings since they represent unspent corporate income. Reserves for federal income and excess-profits taxes are manifestations of short-term savings. Reserves for contingencies, post-war reconversion and earned surplus are manifestations of long-term savings. This analysis proceeds from the short-term external instruments to the long-term external instruments; and from short-term savings to long-term savings.

³ Trade acceptances are also instruments of finance but are not of sufficient quantitative importance to be included in this analysis.

Promissory notes of the corporations analyzed increased by \$149,000,000. This figure is not large in proportion to the growth in assets, and therefore has probably not accounted for much of the asset expansion. For example, the growth in promissory notes is equivalent to only three and four-tenths of the total growth in assets. This figure has, however, shown astounding growth over the period, especially in the case of a few industries. For instance, transportation equipment manufacturers increased their notes by 11,000 per cent, electrical machinery manufacturers by more than 1000 per cent, and manufacturers of chemicals and non-electrical machinery by more than 450 per cent. Many of these notes arose in 1943 out of "V" loans guaranteed by the federal government. Open-book obligations, on the other hand, increased by \$774,000,000, equivalent to 17.8% of the growth in assets. It is apparent in these figures that leading manufacturers have emphasized the use of inter-corporate credit (open-book accounts) over the use of commercial bank credit, for the acquisition of assets. The growth in both of these instruments together is equivalent to 21.2% of the growth in total assets.

The long-term instruments, on the other hand, illustrate considerably less activity. Common stock of all twelve industries increased by \$78,000,000, while preferred stock actually contracted. Some corporations have been using their accumulations of income to liquidate outstanding preferred stock. Because of high dividends attached to outstanding preferred stock, corporation management has, in some cases, redeemed this instrument in preference to bonds, even though the latter embody all of the dangers of fixed obligations. During the three-year period, preferred stock of all corporations decreased by \$149,000,000, more than enough to offset the small increase in common. This trend will be interesting to follow for the duration of the war.

In spite of large decreases in long-term notes of certain industries such as the automobile, iron and steel, non-ferrous metals, and rubber, all twelve industries together showed an increase of \$200,000,000. It is evident in the financial statements of these companies, however, that much of this growth lies in short long-

term notes with maturities of more than one but less than four years. Taken together, the long-term external instruments show a net increase of \$129,000,000 which is equivalent to only three percent of the growth in assets. Obviously corporations are not expanding from the outside through the issue of long-term financial instruments.

The process of short-term internal financing on the other hand, offers an altogether different picture. Provisions for federal income and excess-profits taxes are withholdings from current income that are expected, by the corporation, to be released in payment of tax obligations within the following year. Thus they represent only short-term savings and temporary asset-expansion. Every tax outlay, however, seemed to be followed by a larger provision for future outlays; this short-term internal process, consequently, grew by \$1,117,000,000 during the period, an increase equivalent to 25.7% of the increase in assets. Obviously this has been a fertile source of asset expansion.

Depreciation, depletion, obsolescence, and bad debts are expenses and are therefore withheld from the current flow of income. These are, then, in a sense corporate savings and internal sources of asset-expansion. Since the purpose of these reserves is not to accumulate assets, they are not included among the savings and current assets that are being used up and lost, and not to accumulate assets. They are not included among the savings techniques, though they have the semblance of savings.

Reserves for contingencies and reserves for post-war reconversion provide for equivalent withholdings, out of either current income or accumulated income (earned surplus) without correlative contraction in specific assets. Thus these reserves provide a net addition to corporate assets, at least until the contingency occurs, or until the war terminates, and even then the actual expenditures may not meet with the expectations of management, as expressed in their reserve accounts.

Contingency reserves increased by \$161,000,000 over the three years. Most of this growth occurred during 1941, before this

country was actually at war. During 1940 and 1941, the war abroad had already affected the financial policies of American manufacturers, and they were preparing in a general way for the unpredictable exigencies of war by holding back a part of their income. However, during 1942 and 1943, with our country actually at war, and our corporations concentrating more and more on all-out war production, the general contingency provisions gave way to something more specific—reconversion reserves.⁴ These reserves increased for one chemical company from a single \$1,000,000 provision in 1940 to a total of \$294,000,000 in 1943. All but the rubber industry provided for reconversion by 1943. Increase in these reserves over the three years, along with the increase in contingency reserves comprised a total growth of \$454,000,000, 10.4 per cent of the growth in total assets.

Earned surplus, the remaining internal technique that has been noticeably affected by the war, exceeds in growth all other instruments and processes, except reserves for federal income and excess profits taxes. This item, which was already large in 1940 grew by \$1,071,000,000 during the period, 24.7 per cent of the growth in total assets. All three long-term internal processes together grew by \$1,525,000,000, or 35.0 per cent of the total growth in assets.

Growth of long and short-term savings (total internal expansion) together represent 60.7 per cent of the total growth in corporate assets. This obviously explains the lion's-share of the expansion. The balance remainder is attributable to the use of long and short-term instruments of finance: promissory notes, open-book accounts, stock certificates, and long-term notes. The only one of these that makes a noteworthy contribution is the open-book account. The total growth in these external and internal instruments and techniques since the war accounts for 85.0 per cent of the growth in assets. The other 15.0 per cent is widely disseminated among

⁴ It has been observed that a few corporations transferred their contingency reserves into reconversion reserves with the effect that the growth in the latter was greatly accelerated. However, the prevailing practice was to slightly increase or to completely freeze contingency reserves and to go ahead expanding the new post-war account.

less significant accounts such as property and sales tax accruals, wage and commission accruals, dividends declared but not paid, miscellaneous reserves, capital surplus, deferred credits, and so on.

TABLE II
GROWTH IN CAPITAL STRUCTURE AND FINANCIAL
STRUCTURE COMPARED

	Absolute \$	Relative Per Cent
Short-term External Expansion		
Promissory Notes	\$ 149,000,000	3.4
Open-book Accounts	774,000,000	17.8
Long-term External Expansion		
Common Stock	78,000,000	
Preferred Stock	-149,000,000	
Long-term Notes	200,000,000	3.0
Short-term Internal Expansion		
Federal Income and Excess Profits Taxes.....	1,117,000,000	25.7
Long-term Internal Expansion		
Contingency Reserves and Reconversion		
Reserves	454,000,000	10.4
Earned Surplus	1,071,000,000	24.7
Total Growth in Financial Structure.....	3,694,000,000	
Relation of Total Growth in Financial Structure to Total Growth in Assets.....		85.0%

The trend in corporation finance from the external to the internal techniques has significant economic implications. For example, the rapid growth in assets has far exceeded the growth in long-term notes, especially corporation bonds which have actually decreased in some industries. This has thickened the security behind the instruments, decreased their risk, and set the foundation for increased activity in the long-term debt market. Activity in the long-term debt market for the past two years has made this a reality. In fact, increased demand for long-term debts has driven bond-premiums so high that there has been, and still is, a veritable epidemic of refunding at lower rates of interest. Thus the increased demand for bonds is forcing down the rate of interest on new issues. This trend will probably continue as long as the companies refrain from flooding the market with new issues, as long as assets continue to expand, and as long as the debt-buying public has no alternative except low-yielding government debts.

Preferred stock is necessarily experiencing the same conditions as long-term notes. Risks are diminishing because of expanding assets and a diminishing number of outstanding preferred contracts. Cumulative and non-cumulative dividends are paid with uninterrupted regularity, and the certificates tend to bring a premium in the market. Facts of the market bear this out. Corporations have just recently begun extensive redemptions of preferred stock and the issue of new shares at lower rates in response to the rising demand for those securities. The obvious effect of refunding debts and redeeming stock contracts is a reduction in income to the *rentier*, a decrease in the cost of production and an increase in the profit of companies that take advantage of this opportunity to acquire capital at lower rates. This trend also will probably continue as long as corporations do not flood the market with preferred stock certificates, as long as assets expand faster than long and short-term debts, and as long as alternative outlets for investment funds are confined to low-yielding government and private debts.

Common stock holders, the risk-takers in corporate-enterprise, are probably benefiting more at this time than any other group of investors. Besides providing abundant security, and regular interest and dividend-payments to long-term noteholders and preferred stockholders, the growing assets are spilling-over, and accumulating great amounts of earned surplus which belongs to the common stockholders. Another way of putting it is that the book value of each share of common stock is increasing.⁵ Thus the risk of inadequate security and low returns, that ordinarily accompany common stock, are rapidly disappearing. Dividends are declared with greater consistency, and are somewhat higher than they were in 1940. Market values of common stock have responded favorably to these circumstances. Since common stock is not readily redeemed the holders of that instrument are not constantly confronted with the problem of finding new outlets for their funds at reduced rates as are bondholders, and preferred

⁵ Book value is computed by dividing the number of outstanding shares of common stock into the net worth after providing for the preferred stock obligation.

stockholders. As long as the over-flow into surplus continues, and as long as new issues do not flood the market both the book values and the dividends will continue to increase with the effect that shares will continue their upward course. Furthermore, if corporations continue to refund their long-term notes and redeem their preferred stock at lower rates, the demand for common stock is likely to be accentuated by investors who, because of low returns, choose to move into the common stock market.

British Impressions of Travel in the Ante-Bellum South

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English travellers who visited the United States during the quarter-century preceding the Civil War were a motley lot. They included authors, journalists, lecturers, scientists, businessmen, clergymen, soldiers, politicians, artists, promoters, actors, song-writers, and sportsmen—to mention but a few. The total number can never be estimated accurately, since no statistics of the necessary type were kept by either the British or American governments. However, the number appears to have been quite large. Of these, approximately two hundred and thirty published accounts of their travels.¹ They came for many reasons and saw many things, their travel accounts naturally reflecting their special interests. But practically all of them visited the South, if for no other reason than to see its "peculiar institution" at first hand.

Except for a handful of travellers who went directly to New Orleans or Charleston, British visitors entered the United States through either New York or Boston. The usual itinerary from these cities was southward towards Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Washington. From the latter city a variety of routes into the Southland were open. Thus, an Englishman desiring to go from Washington to New Orleans could either go south along the seaboard as far as Georgia, and thence west along the Gulf Coast; or he could go southwest by stage through the interior by way of the Shenandoah, the Blue Ridge Mountains, Natural Bridge, and Birmingham; or he could travel directly west over the Alleghanies by stage, canal, or rail to the Ohio, and thence south through the Mississippi Valley. Finally, some travellers boarded ships at

¹ See Max Berger, *The British Traveller in America, 1836-1860*, 190, for the method whereby this number was determined. The book also contains a brief description of each traveller, a critical evaluation of his travel account, and a summary of his impressions of America.

Charleston for Havana, and continued from that city to New Orleans.

The Honorable T. C. Grattan, British Counsul to Boston, declared the South to be "almost a paradise."² But he had never gone beyond Richmond. Those who did, thought otherwise. In fact they generally agreed with the statement of J. S. Buckingham, former Whig Cabinet Minister and well-known world traveller, that travel conditions in the South were the worst in all America.³ The further south one went, the worse they became.

No sooner was the Mason and Dixon Line crossed than poverty, decay, and retrogression stared the traveller in the face. Unpainted houses, broken windows, sloth, filth, and inertia appeared on every side. The Earl of Carlisle, a man basically sympathetic towards American democracy, called the South, "the Ireland of America." "Everything appears slovenly, ill-arranged, incomplete, windows do not shut, doors do not fasten."⁴ "Where slavery sits brooding," added Charles Dickens, "there is an air of ruin and decay abroad, which is inseparable from the system. The barns and outhouses are moldering away; the sheds are patched and roofless; the log cabins are squalid to the last degree. . . . Gloom and dejection are upon all."⁵

Arriving at Richmond, travellers were amazed at what they saw. The city presented the appearance "so unusual in America of retrogression and decay."⁶ The great Charleston of which they had heard so much, turned out to be equally disappointing to most visitors. It resembled a West Indian port, they claimed, rather than an American city, with its wooden buildings painted white, its large verandahs, and its Venetian blinds. Buzzards scavenging in the streets completed the picture. At night, the streets were unlighted, and so full of holes as to be impassable.⁷ New Orleans

² T. C. Grattan, *Civilized America*, II, 180.

³ J. S. Buckingham, *Southern or Slave States*, I, 190.

⁴ Earl of Carlisle, *Travels in America*, 55.

⁵ Charles Dickens, *American Notes*, 318-319.

⁶ J. R. Godley, *Letters from America*, II, 193.

⁷ Buckingham, *op. cit.*, I, 48; F. A. Kemble, *Journal of a Residence on a Georgia Plantation*, 1838-1839, 21.

likewise failed to impress Britons. During summer months, malaria, yellow fever, and cholera made it a pesthole. In winter it was filled with gamblers and desperadoes. After dark, the streets were infested with slimy rats the size of young pigs.⁸ The Earl of Carlisle asserted that the only good thing New Orleans contained was the St. Charles Hotel.⁹ However, the French Quarter with its bars, gambling dens, and octoroon prostitutes provided excellent "copy" for home consumption. No chapter on New Orleans was complete without some attention to these lurid details. Characteristic practices, such as the burial of the dead above ground due to the impossibility of digging proper graves in the mucky soil, also proved of interest to visitors.¹⁰

Travel facilities reflected the undeveloped condition of the South. Harriet Martineau, in 1836, had found only a few miles of local railroads in the entire South. Roadbeds were poor, the boilers leaked, the trains arrived hours late. When her train stalled one night in a swamp outside of Charleston, she shuddered at the thought of what would have happened if this had occurred during the malaria season. On another short trip, cinders from the locomotive burned thirteen holes in her gown.¹¹ Travel conditions were scarcely better a generation later. The promise held forth by the extensive railroad construction of the late 'thirties failed to bear fruit. Instead, the South became rapidly outdistanced by the North and the Midwest in respect to mileage and equipment. In 1855 W. E. Baxter, a British businessman, reported that on one occasion in Georgia he had found his train awaiting its passengers "in the midst of a field of Indian corn, no edifice of any sort being in sight."¹² Southern railroad mileage remained inadequate right down to the Civil War, and the lines that did exist, were notoriously poor.

Hence, stage-coaches remained the chief form of transportation

⁸ Sir E. R. Sullivan, *Rambles and Scrambles in North and South America*, 207.

⁹ Earl of Carlisle, *op. cit.*, 61-62.

¹⁰ Lady E. C. E. M. Stuart-Wortley, *Travels in the United States*, 126; Sullivan, *op. cit.*, 206.

¹¹ Harriet Martineau. *Society in America*, II, 10-11.

¹² W. E. Baxter, *America and the Americans*, 43.

in the south, along with the steamers on the great rivers of the Mississippi Valley. American coaches differed from their English counterparts. Unlike the latter which rested on springs, the American coach was suspended by leather straps from the axles. When roads were bad (and they usually were in the South), the motion of the coach was similar to that of being tossed in a blanket. The coach ordinarily accommodated nine to eleven persons on the inside, arranged in three parallel rows, plus one or more persons outside with the driver. Ventilation was provided by a window in the door. In summer the dust was choking; in winter the bad air stifling. Worse than the ventilation, however, was the incessant jolting of the carriage. The corduroy roads and bridges of the South twisted every muscle in the body, complained Buckingham.¹³ Considering the number of bumps on one's head from hitting the roof of the coach, added Lady Stuart-Wortley, "if there be any truth in phrenology, what changes in character must be wrought during a journey across the Oileghanies."¹⁴ Miss Martineau likewise complained about the incessant jolting. One of her companions had bought some eggs for supper. In order to prevent them from breaking, each passenger rode for the rest of that day holding an egg in each hand.¹⁵

When the roads became impassable, coaches left the highway and wound through woods and swamps. Under such conditions, accidents and breakdowns were frequent. The British were always surprised at the good nature with which Americans took these mishaps. rarely did they report hearing a word of complaint. In the event of breakdowns, mirings, or bridge washouts, the passengers dismounted, and the men pitched in to get the coach under way again. Sometimes this took hours. In such cases, travel would continue far into the night over pitch-black roads, the passengers shifting their weight from side to side to prevent the coach from overturning as it struck unseen ruts.

Despite the difficulties of stage-coach travel, there was no diminution in the chivalric attitude of American men towards

¹³ Buckingham, *op. cit.*, I, 237.

¹⁴ Stuart-Wortley, *op. cit.*, 88.

¹⁵ Martineau, *op. cit.*, I, 239.

women. Englishmen were fascinated by the attention accorded the American girl. But Englishwomen were more critical. That prim old maid, Harriet Martineau, thought the chivalry overdone. Many women, she declared, were selfish enough to take advantage of it, particularly in the South. Once, in Virginia, five men had ridden on the top of a coach, at the risk of life and limb, so that a young girl could stretch out her feet on the seats inside. Miss Martineau wondered angrily why the girl did not hire a separate coach if she could not travel like other people.¹⁶

Coach travel was bad, but to stop at a Southern wayside inn for refreshment or rest was even worse. The best of them had no bells, no bed curtains, no basins with jugs, no clothes pegs, and no mirrors.¹⁷ Capt. Frederick Marryat, a tireless detractor of all things American, narrated that he had heard of a Mississippi inn where the kitchen floor had been used as a bed for both travellers and the proprietor's family, numbering seventeen persons in all, with both sexes "turning in" together. However, he was forced to admit that nothing in his own experience had been quite that bad.¹⁸ But not unusual was Miss Martineau's experience when (after riding all night) her coach stopped at a Kentucky inn for refreshment. The inn consisted of two rooms and a hall. Upon requesting water and towels to wash up, they were given one shallow tin dish of water for the entire company. Towels or napkins were not to be had.¹⁹

If lodgings were bad, food at these inns were even worse. The South, so far as the traveller was concerned, was very definitely not the answer to a gourmet's prayer. Buckingham, who was an experienced and sympathetic traveller, and whose long years in the Orient had eliminated any fastidiousness on the subject of food, complained repeatedly about the rusty knives and forks, the rancid butter, and the unappetizing food in Georgia restaurants. As the climate got warmer, sanitation became worse instead of

¹⁶ Martineau, *op. cit.*, 214-216.

¹⁷ Buckingham, *op. cit.*, I, 245.

¹⁸ Capt. Frederick Marryat, *A Diary in America*, second series, I, 105.

¹⁹ Martineau, *op. cit.*, I, 214-215.

better.²⁰ Nor was poor food restricted to Georgia alone. Stopping for dinner, the passengers of a Cumberland stage-coach were served a dish which none could identify. "The dish from which I ate was according to some, mutton; to others, pork; my own idea is that it was dog," commented Miss Martineau, a member of the party.²¹ If this woman, who could neither taste nor smell, arrived at this estimate, the dish must have been truly awful. Private cooking was undoubtedly better than the food served at the public inns. But few travellers had the opportunity to be invited into the better Southern homes. Those who did, failed to celebrate the excellence of such food sufficiently to overcome popular belief in the wretchedness of Southern cooking.

Following experiences such as these, the traveller was only too glad to board a stately Mississippi steamer, and turn northward again. The river boats with their wide decks and spacious superstructures seemed positively luxurious after weeks of stage and rail travel. But this first feeling of relaxation soon gave way to anxiety as the Briton realized that almost everyone on board either carried a life-preserver, or kept one handy. Fires, explosions, and shipwrecks, it appeared, were exceedingly frequent. Capt. Marryat warned that although steamer travel was the most comfortable, it was also the most dangerous. Having passed several wrecks on the river, Herriet Martineau, for once, agreed with him.²² Yet her own ship had made ninety-six trips without mishap.

Federal laws providing for safety inspection improved the situation only slightly. According to one hostile visitor, as soon as the inspector came aboard he headed straight for the ship's bar, and remained there until sailing time.²³ Competition between the river boats was keen. If one grounded, others steamed past without stopping, while passengers and crew lined the rail and cheered. The public appeared to accept accidents and wrecks with equanimity. Charles Casey spoke to two survivors of a steamer

²⁰ Buckingham, *op. cit.*, I, 190, 245.

²¹ Martineau, *op. cit.*, I, 192.

²² *Ibid.*, II, 23.

²³ Mrs. M.C.J.F. Houstoun, *Hesperos*, II, 27.

which had just blown up, killing sixty people, and scattering wreckage for acres. The two men had been fished from the river. Casey asked one of them if he did not feel thankful for so wonderful an escape. The man replied, "Wall yes! I guess it was a pretty bad fix — won't you pass those mutton chops?"²⁴ Visitors attributed the high accident rate to carelessness and the desire for speed. Dionysus Lardner, well-known British authority on rail and steamer transport, was appalled at the high accident rate on the Mississippi steamers. Poor boiler construction was partially to blame, he stated, but the chief cause lay in the premium placed upon speed with a corresponding indifference to human safety. The apathy of Congress towards preventive legislation struck him as "a disgrace to humanity."²⁵ But so far as Britons could see, Americans appeared perfectly satisfied to risk being blown to smithereens for the sake of getting to their destination a few hours earlier. British travellers, however, always kept an uneasy eye on the boilers. Added to this was fear of the epidemics that periodically swept through the steamers, and of the quarrelsome, trigger-happy gamblers who infested the salons. Hence, the British found little occasion for relaxation and enjoyment during the trip.

Many chronic sightseers disembarked on the Kentucky shore to take the stage to that newly opened wonder, the Mammoth Cave. It was on this trip that Marriet Martineau was shown an "unshaded meadow where the grass had caught fire every day at 11 o'clock the preceding summer," thus demonstrating the need for shade in this clime.²⁶ If this widely travelled lady accepted this statement unquestioningly, how many errors did less critical travellers repeat to their credulous countrymen back home.

Most visitors went ashore at St. Louis. Their feelings about this city changed with time. Buckingham, in the late 'thirties, had found it a quiet little place. He thought its site well chosen; its climate healthy and cooler than that of the great seaboard

²⁴ Charles Casey, *Two Years on a Farm of Uncle Sam*, 310.

²⁵ Dionysus Lardner, *Railroad Economy*, 382-383.

²⁶ Martineau, *op. cit.*, I, 306.

cities.²⁷ Evidently he had not been there in summer. A few years later Charles Dickens described the place as an unhealthy swamp.²⁸ As it grew in size, it became dirtier. Baxter, who saw it in the middle 'fifties, avowed that he had lived there for three days under the impression that the streets were unpaved, until a heavy rainstorm washed away the tons of dirt atop the pavements. Its streets, he affirmed, could "scarcely claim equality with the foulest towns of Southern Europe."²⁹ The city's chief interest to Englishmen lay in its large Catholic population, dating back to French days and recently augmented by German and Irish emigration. Its famous Cathedral and its equally well-known Jesuit College led many a Protestant to fear that some day St. Louis would become the Rome of America.

During the Gold Rush, of course, St. Louis took on an added importance, for it was the starting point for the overland caravans. "California fever met you here at every turn, every corner, every dead well; every post and pillar was labelled with Calicoria placards. The shops seemed to contain nothing but articles for California."³⁰ Advertisements and extracts from prospectors' letters filled all the newspapers. Everyone asked, "Are you for California?" It seemed as though the entire city were about to pick itself up bodily and leave for the West.

Many Englishmen were caught-up by the fever. The vast majority, however, either continued up the Mississippi towards the Great Lakes, or turned eastward up the Ohio. Their sojourn in the South had been interesting, even exciting, but scarcely enjoyable.

²⁷ J. S. Buckingham, *Eastern and Western States*, III, 117.

²⁸ Dickens, *op. cit.*, 360.

²⁹ Baxter, *op. cit.*, 24-25.

³⁰ William Kelly, *Across the Rocky Mountains from New York to California*, 36.

Civilian Wartime Education in the Schools and Colleges

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In his message to the National Institute on Education and the War on August 28, 1942, President Roosevelt stated the over-all objectives of wartime civilian education in these words: "Our schools, public and private, have always been molds in which we cast the kind of life we wanted. Today, what we all want is victory and beyond victory a world in which free men may fulfill their aspirations. So we turn again to our educators and ask them to help us mold men and women who can fight through to victory. We ask that every schoolhouse become a service center for the home front. And we pray that our young people will learn in the schools and in the colleges the wisdom and forbearance and patience needed by men and women of goodwill who seek to bring to this earth a lasting peace."

Too much emphasis cannot be placed upon the importance of educational institutions in the life of the people. Education in America is the foundation upon which the democracy rests. The schools and colleges touch directly or indirectly the lives of all the people. What is taught at school spreads quickly to the adult population and influences the thinking, feeling, and behavior of the whole community. "If the teacher says it, it's true," is a common expression reflecting the esteem of pupils, parents and citizens for their teachers.

If the schools are to retain this undeniable position of leadership, they must set themselves squarely to the task of an all-out wartime program. A program which will make each schoolhouse "a service center for the home front."

The total war in which the United States is engaged makes it necessary for every American to acquire new economic concepts; to rethink his individual relationship to democracy; to redefine

his concepts of freedom; to understand new problems and new issues which develop as a result of conflict. The citizen is called upon to wage a battle against economic evils— inflation, waste, hoarding, careless buying, and black markets; he is challenged to help maintain economic stability today, and to guarantee economic security in the post-war era. The schools must chart the course of battle, and then help fight it. Whether the educational institution be a high school, a college or a university the things it may do vary only in degree of completeness and not in character.

Since its inception on June 1, 1942, the Educational Services Branch of the Office of Price Administration has been assisting the Nation's schools, colleges and organized educational groups in the tremendous job of aiding students and adults to understand the significance of the Government's wartime measures of price control, rent control and rationing, and the methods of administering these measures. The success of the Office of Price Administration's entire program depends directly upon the extent to which the people understand these regulations. It is the major purpose of the ESB to help the schools by pointing out specific ways in which they can contribute to OPA's war program.

SERVICES IN THE CLASSROOM

Classroom instruction is now being related to the wartime economy in a limitless number of ways, by both general and specific approaches. It is an inherent obligation of the schools to teach the full significance of American democracy, the reasons for various economic measures taken by the Government and the manifold causes which make scarcities prevalent and rationing necessary. The roots of all regulations and emergent problems are found in history, technology, geography, economics, sociology and literature. Each measure evolved has many specific regulations; every person and every family is confronted with a need for learning the general aspects of these. The schools have been quick to realize that if they are to do their part fully, they must be willing to spend both time and energy in the integration of wartime problems into the courses of instruction.

Motivation for studying the war economy exists in the daily life of the pupil. The war touches every student every day. When he enters the classroom in the morning, whether he is in the primary grades, the high school or the college, he is aware of the changes that war brings. He knows that since the needs of our fighting men must be met, butter, sugar, and meat are no longer obtainable in unlimited quantities. He knows that A and B mileage rationing books do not permit unlimited pleasure driving. He knows that an increase in his father's salary may not buy greater amounts and more varied commodities.

Most State Superintendents of Public Instruction and most college administrators have caught a vision of the opportunities that lie ahead and have encouraged an all-out adaptation of classroom work to the needs of the day. Some are preparing valuable materials for teaching purposes, including discussion topics, outlines, and units of study.

Every field of interest, every department, and every course presents possibilities for the integration of problems related to wartime economics and an infiltration of materials to be used in a discussion of them. While it is agreed that a certain amount of standardized subject-matter must be covered in any class, it is also agreed that the ingenious teacher can find a surprising number of ways to satisfy the student's interest in current issues. Studies of contemporary conditions do not necessitate the inauguration of new courses, although some colleges and universities have introduced new ones on wartime economics and consumer education. The public schools have in most cases simply altered the emphasis of their courses, especially in such courses as Home Economics and Social Studies.

The departments of Home Economics occupy a unique and a strategic position in the transformation from a peacetime economy of plenty to a wartime economy of scarcity. Teachers in this field have a real opportunity for services. The entire scope of consumer education, a major part of community education for wartime living, challenges them. They, as no other group, are in a position to teach. (1) Economical buying, (2) quality protec-

tion, (3) healthful living, (4) the use of alternates and substitutes, (5) conservation, (6) judgment in grading and labeling, and (7) legal restrictions which may be detrimental to the health and the welfare of the nation.

Efforts to promote consumer interests as part of community education today are, in many respects, little more than the adaptation of home economics to wartime. Often a college, university or high school having a home economics laboratory runs tests on weights, measures, and qualities. *Food values of canned fruits and vegetables, with or without new labels are tested. Thread counts, feeling, and testing of the tensile strength of fabrics are made in the laboratory. If qualities are found below specifications, the discovery is not widely publicized, but handled by the War Price and Rationing Board, the Consumer Committee, or merchants' organizations. The primary objective is to teach and protect the public through the services of the school. At all points where food and food values, clothing and clothing values, and home equipment are involved the home economists have a wealth of new material for the classroom.

Courses in Sociology are easily correlated with home defense measures and problems such as (1) rent control and its relation to housing, (2) migration of populations to war industrial areas, (3) the development of new communities, (4) the need for community organization. Closely associated are analysis of old social values and the development of new ones. The evolution of new types of voluntary group associations and the expansion of cooperations are considered. Family adjustments as a result of a changing standard of living, increased industrial employment of women, and delinquency problems are significant aspects of the war which are of interest to Sociology classes.

Price control belongs largely to the fields of Economics, Political Science and History. All its implications may be incorporated into

* In justice to all schools most of which are engaged in one or more of the activities mentioned herein, it has seemed wise not to use any specific names. Should anyone desire such information he may write to the Educational Services Branch, Information Division, OPA, Region V, Dallas, Texas.

the established courses by teachers who are wise enough to make their courses vital and significant. The history of price control and inflation, the reasons for regulations, supply and demand in relation to controls, and many other sub-topics readily lend themselves to classroom teaching.

Students in political science and Civics now stress administrative difficulties and the expansion of governmental controls during war with special reference to the functions and activities of the members of the War Price and Rationing Boards. They evaluate the need, the organization, the operation, and the successes or failures of federal agencies involved in price control and rationing. Classes in this subject often visit agencies administering emergency programs or invite Federal employees to lead class discussions. Public Opinion polls are taken by these students, particularly on subjects relating to legislation which specifically affects the way of life of every citizen. Such opinion studies, if properly conducted, can be a real contribution to the war program.

Geography lends itself especially to a study of strategic raw materials, both domestic and foreign. Maps tell the story of transportation difficulties and the need for the conservation of natural resources, home equipment, tires, coffee, sugar, gasoline, woolen garments, glycerine, magnesium, tin, and manganese. Thus Geography becomes more vital and more fascinating than it was in pre-war days.

Students in Science classes experiment with the production of synthetic goods designated to replace those that are now scarce; in close cooperation with departments of Home Economics they evolve techniques for and actually test synthetic products now on the market; they develop yardsticks of quality and usability. Salvage or waste goods are analyzed as to composition and wartime uses.

Students in Mathematics and General Business use problems relating to accurate weights and measures which portray the need for careful and wise buying. Valuable projects are worked out in cooperation with city departments of weights and measures. Exercises dealing with the computation of interest on different

types of government securities, the Victory Tax, the income tax, and the increase in the cost of living lead to a better understanding of why it is necessary to have to have anti-inflation controls during an age of conflict. A study of the significance of percentages and absolute numbers in terms of governmental expenditures, family budgets, savings, personal budgets, and incomes results in an appreciation of a few of the economic problems attending World War II, and should bring a clearer understanding of difficulties to be faced in the post-war era.

Students in Physical Education study and promote many aspects of our total war effort which are not confined to the narrow field of keeping fit for military duty. Their first concern today is health as it relates to growing scarcities of goods. Transportation difficulties, mileage rationing, and rubber shortages are creating demands for new pastimes and recreations. Citizen morale is aided through the development of community playgrounds. Students of physical education are learning to shift their recreational habits from those dependent upon the use of an automobile to those of the neighborhood nature. Hiking and camping are in order.

SERVICES IN THE COMMUNITY

The wartime educational program of the schools reaches far beyond the classroom. Educational institutions, both public and private, have been accepted, almost without exception, as leaders in the formulation of public opinion in their home communities. The avenues of community service open to them are many and varied. Of great importance during the war is support given the Office of Civilian Defense, the War Price and Rationing Boards, the community consumer groups and local clubs. Where a Consumer Committee exists, the school frequently has a representative who as a member of the committee, keeps informed on developments in the fields of price control, rent control, rationing, and scarcities. He secures literature on these subjects from the Community Service Member of the War Price and Rationing Board makes it available for use in the school. Every school system needs such a person assigned to the job for keeping abreast of

the numerous governmental measures constantly being promulgated and of relating them to local problems.

Many educational institutions have motion picture machines and public address systems which enable them to present government films in their community. Likewise, many entertaining films produced and released by American manufacturers bring the message of conservation, the production of certain essential raw materials, and the utilization of scarce materials, substitutes, and alternates. These films are usually presented by the school, in cooperation with some civic or study club. Films are available through a film center, through some government agency, such as the Office of War Information, through commercial concerns, and in many instances through the Division of Visual Education, State Department of Education.

Besides these general programs the individual departments have much to contribute to the community. The Department of Public Speaking, for example, occupies a unique position in school-community relationships. In some colleges this department has organized a Speakers Bureau, which supplies well trained speakers, both students and faculty members, for clubs, rallies, church gatherings, and radio programs. The sponsors of such bureaus work with the Speakers Bureau of the Office of Civilian Defense of the Consumer Committee of the town. The speeches give information on problems of immediate concern to the general public: "Our Rubber Problem," "Mileage Rationing," "Our Supply of Food," "Fats and Oils," "The Functions of OPA."

Local oratorical contests or other forensic activities offer unexcelled opportunities for public discussion of the economical aspects of the war. With transportation difficulties increasing it becomes more and more desirable that such contests be encouraged locally. Open forums and panel discussions are being held in many communities with the (1) Federated Women's Clubs, (2) the League of Women Voters, (3) Business and Professional Women's Clubs, (4) the American Association of University Women, (5) the churches, (6) the service clubs, (7) and other interested civic groups. These forums and panel discussions

include students, teachers, merchants, lawyers, and government representatives who explain and interpret regulatory measures of an economic nature such as the Emergency Price Control Act, the community prices, and point rationing.

The Art Department is another department which can be of special service to the community by preparing exhibits on economic problems of direct interest to the local citizenry. These may be cartoons, caricatures, posters, charts, and graphs showing the meaning of inflation, rationing, and the restrictions of the war economy; they are displayed in conspicuous public places, such as retail stores, banks, and public libraries. This department often collaborates with the Social Science Department in sponsoring a Bulletin Board in the public square, the Chamber of Commerce, or the school library, upon which are recorded important events of the day, particularly those related to scarcities, new price schedules, or programs of rationing in the form of rationing calendars. The Social Science Department keeps the information up to date, and the Art Department accentuates the "news" with cartoons or free hand drawings.

Clinics sponsored by members of the departments of Economics, History and Political Science (in cooperation with Distributive Education) in some states have been held in a few communities to supply information to the wholesaler and the retailer. Topics which are of intense interest, such as the posting of ceiling prices, the keeping of records, the filing of prices with the War Price and Rationing Board, and price adjustments are dealt with in such a clinic. Community night clinics also are held to provide an opportunity for consumer-retailer-wholesaler relations to be discussed. A member of the local War Price and Rationing Board and a representative of the Office of Price Administration often serve as consultants for these projects.

Library staffs of colleges and universities have been doing a real service in compiling bibliographies on wartime subjects to be used by study clubs or other interested groups. In some communities libraries aid and publicize an Information Center which is open to the public; free government materials dealing especially

with the subjects of price control, rationing and rent control are circulated among the people on loans for ten days or two weeks. Likewise, loan packets for clubs, rural communities and youth groups are prepared; files of classified newspaper clippings, magazine articles, and pamphlets are maintained; lists of visual aids in wartime economics are compiled and distributed.

In some cases the Departments of Modern Languages are performing a vital service by interpreting government regulations to foreign speaking groups in the population. In a few large cities it may soon be possible for these departments to prepare foreign-language literature on rationing, price ceilings, rent control, and conservation.

In practically every community the school band, the school orchestra or members of the Department of Music are busy with musical programs which emphasize patriotic themes. These concerts may well be combined with by members of the student body, representatives of the faculty, merchants or some leading citizens who are qualified to speak on special problems confronting the buying public. The Art Department may provide posters and exhibits to be used in connection with the concerts.

Journalism departments always alert to the news have encouraged students to study government regulations and interpret them in the pages of the school newspaper. A few have published special editions stressing such subjects as "Our City Helps Win the War," "The People of _____ Chart the Course of Victory," "Price Control and the Family Budget."

Radio programs, provided by students and faculty members in various departments are emphasizing the problems of citizen readjustments to the wartime economy. The Chemistry Department discusses and evaluates substitutes and alternates, and explains the qualities and uses of various synthetics. The Home Economics Department stresses the economical preparation of foods and the care of clothing. The Social Science Department explains price control and rationing. The Physical Education

Department emphasizes physical fitness to meet the special strains of war.

CONCLUSION

World War II, and economic changes attending it present a serious challenge to the American educational system, a challenge to shoulder new responsibilities and to explore new opportunities. Public schools, colleges and universities occupy a strategic position for the dissemination of information on governmental regulations made necessary by the war; for the introduction of activities designed to interpret to the public such subjects as rationing, price control, conservation, rent regulations, the prevalence of and the need for adjustments to scarcities; and for community leadership in the development of those high standards of citizenship which are now essential to the survival of the democratic system.

Price Panels — The Role of Schools

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One hundred thousand Americans have undertaken voluntarily to help promote understanding and positive support of necessary wartime price regulations by serving on price panels. More than 5,000 price panels have been established; soon there will be one for each of the 5,500 War Price and Rationing Boards. This program presents an opportunity for self-government in a time of difficult national stress. It is based on the belief that local problems can best be handled by local people. To both retailers and consumers, it provides the basis for education and adjustment in regard to price control within the boundaries of their own community. As one price panel chairman has aptly said, "This is democracy at work."

Each price panel consists of three or more local citizens who have the responsibility of dealing with local price control problems. Aiding each panel is a corps of volunteer panel assistants and usually a paid clerk. Members and assistants, all volunteers, are selected to represent a cross-section of their community. They come from every walk of life — teachers, housewives, professional men, laborers, etc. They are appointed by the District OPA Director upon the recommendation of the chairman of the local Board, under whose administrative direction they work.

Most price panels meet regularly once or twice a week. The meetings usually are held at a time convenient for the merchants in the locality. Panels ordinarily spend most of their meeting time dealing with cases of misunderstanding and violation of price regulations. They spend the remainder of their time in developing positive programs designed to secure understanding of and cooperation with price regulations on the part of both the consumer and the retailer.

FUNCTIONS OF PRICE PANELS

1. *To furnish information to retailers and consumers.* The price panel serves as the information center on retail price control in the community; distributes materials; answers inquiries; arranges meetings, panel discussions, and other activities of an educational nature.
2. *To urge compliance with regulations.* Price panels seek to secure voluntary compliance with price regulations. They attempt to see that all retailers have the price information and materials they need to comply with regulations. In cases of violation or apparent violation, they investigate to get the facts and act as friendly adjusters. They try to get the violator to "mend his ways." In case of an overcharge, price panels may negotiate with retailers for a voluntary settlement involving payment to the customer or to the United States Treasury. They report serious cases to the OPA district office for further action.
3. *To furnish information to OPA.* Price panels channel information concerning the operation of price control in the community to OPA district, regional and national offices. They act as barometers on local conditions.

HOW A PRICE PANEL WORKS WITH THE STOREKEEPER

Price panels deal exclusively with retail price regulations; they do not consider matters connected with rationing. Their principal work is with food price panels.

Briefly, here is an example of how a price panel works with a storekeeper. John Smith is a storekeeper in Centerville, a large city. One Monday morning a price panel assistant from the nearest War Price and Rationing Board visits Mr. Smith. She explains who she is and why she is there. She also points out that she is a price "helper." She offers to help him with some of the problems growing out of price regulations. If she is working on the food price program in her community, she may give him the following facts: Market-basket dollars-and-cents ceilings have been placed on meats and about 80 per cent of all grocery items. Stores are divided into four groups depending

upon the amount of business that they do and whether they are "independent" or one of a "chain" of stores under the same ownership. His store is in Group I because its annual gross sales are less than \$50,000 and it is the only store that he owns. The top legal prices are slightly different for each group of stores. He can change below the top legal prices but not above them. Posters showing the group to which his store belongs and the top legal prices for his store must be displayed where his customers can see them.

The price panel assistant leaves with Mr. Smith materials which explain price control rules. She also promises to keep him informed of changes in price regulations. A few weeks later she returns to check with him on any new problems which may have arisen.

HOW A PRICE PANEL WORKS WITH THE CONSUMER

Price panels also perform many services for the consumer. They give information on top legal prices in answer to consumers' questions. They also consider complaints made by consumers. For example, Mrs. Harry Jones buys a pound of butter at her favorite store and believes she is charged three cents over the top legal prices. She points this out to the storekeeper, but he appears unwilling to make a correction. She reports the facts to the price panel of her War Price and Rationing Board. She may report the information by letter or go in person to the Board. The Board will furnish her with a complaint form, upon request.

Within a few days, a price panel assistant calls on the storekeeper, and, let us say, finds that **Mrs. Jones'** complaint is justified. Because the storekeeper does not understand the regulation, the panel chairman invites him to attend a meeting of the price panel the following evening. There, in a spirit of friendly cooperation, the members of the panel make the price regulation clear to the merchant and decide whether the overcharge was intentional or unintentional. If the panel believes the violation was unintentional and will not be repeated, it can simply ask the storekeeper for a signed agreement of future compliance and close the case. Or it may ask that the storekeeper return the

overcharge to Mrs. Jones. If the violation was intentional, the amount of payment to Mrs. Jones may vary from the actual overcharge to a penalty of three times the overcharge, or fifty dollars, whichever is greater.

HOW PRICE PANELS ARE EFFECTIVE

Recent store surveys have revealed three things: (1) Effective price panels help keep the cost of living down in their communities. (2) The big majority of merchants want and need the help of intelligent price panel assistants. (3) Many more price panel assistants are needed now.

In areas where there have been enough assistants to make frequent, regular visits to food stores, reports show that only four per cent of the stores have been overcharging or failing to display ceiling prices. In areas where there have been too few assistants to make regular visits, as many as 75 per cent of the stores have been violating price regulations.

Here is the record for four typical communities:

Board A — Occasional visits . . . 75% violations

Board B — Monthly visits 50% violations

Board C — Bi-monthly visits . . . 25% violations

Board D — Weekly visits 4% violations

WHY PRICE PANELS ARE IMPORTANT

Penny overcharges add up to inflationary dollars. They "pinch" teachers and other white collar fixed income groups. Families of service men living chiefly on allotments from the government form the largest group of the 20 million persons in the United States who have fixed incomes and are therefore most affected by price increases. These increases create increased demands for higher wages. That raises production costs and that in turn raises prices even further.

If the average housewife pays only 25 cents in intentional

or unintentional overcharges during her weekly marketing trip, the annual cost to families in a community of

5,000 population would be about	\$16,500
25,000 " " " "	81,250
100,000 " " " "	325,000
500,000 " " " "	1,625,000
1,000,000 " " " "	3,250,000

Even though we have not yet won the inflation battle, we have chalked up substantial victories. The effectiveness of the "hold the line" order of April, 1943, in stabilizing the cost of living is demonstrated by the fact that since that date the cost of living index of the Bureau of Labor Statistics has risen only one-third of one per cent. That is a record that merchants, consumers and OPA are proud of. This achievement has been the direct result of the combined efforts of America's millions of citizens, of their representatives in Congress, and of their wartime economic agencies. A major contribution to the economic stabilization program has been made by the volunteers serving on local War Price and Rationing Boards and price panels, and other volunteers who have likewise given generously of their time and effort toward making price control effective in their communities.

The theory behind the development of price panels is that the majority of the American people, consumers and retailers alike, will do that which is required of them to support the war effort on the home front if they understand exactly *what* it is that they are supposed to do and *why* they are supposed to do it. It is for this reason that the function of the price panels is solely that of furnishing information and securing voluntary adjustment to price regulation. Of course, there will always be a few chiselers who will violate price regulations for private gain. The district offices of OPA have enforcement machinery for taking care of people of that type. But the work of the price panels is with the great mass of the American people who are patriotically interested in doing all they can to win the war and to keep steady the home front economy, and whose main need is for information concerning their part in this war effort.

HOW SCHOOLS CAN COOPERATE WITH PRICE PANELS

In the over-all program of holding the line on prices and of making rationing work, the schools and officials have performed a great service on the home front. They have assisted in the distribution of rationing books. They have explained the responsibilities of merchants and customers with reference to local price programs and have helped develop a better understanding of price ceilings and price ceiling lists. Many teachers, furthermore, have served as members of price panels or as price panel assistants. Through these and other means, teachers and administrators have truly made their schoolhouses service centers on the home front—centers devoted to winning the war and to laying a stable economic foundation for the post-war period.

The social studies teacher will immediately see the significant place occupied by the price panels in our wartime economy and the countless opportunities for making the work of these panels a part of the subject matter which he teaches. He will see that it is a challenge as well as an opportunity. Some of the activities which are being carried out with considerable success follow:

1. Many social studies teachers, at all grade levels, have helped their pupils discuss the reasons for the food-pricing program, how it operates in their local community, and the responsibilities of the student and his family in making the program work successfully.
2. A large number of social studies teachers are now serving as price panel members or assistants. Their experience in this capacity, reinforced by visits to price panel hearings, by a selected group from the class or by a visit of a member of the price panel to the classroom have become the basis for interesting lessons.
3. Social studies teachers, often in cooperation with English, home economics, and other departments in the junior and senior high schools, have planned short curriculum units on "Community prices," in which the work of price panels is featured. This activity has been particularly successful in civics, economics, history and government courses.

4. Many social studies teachers, particularly those in the intermediate and upper elementary grades, have had their pupils make lists, charts, and cartoons emphasizing problems confronting both merchant and consumer in shopping under price control.
5. Where the school system conducts broadcasts over local radio stations, senior high school social studies teachers and students have presented scripts discussing the reasons for and the value of price control.
6. Many social studies departments have sponsored assembly programs dramatizing the work of their local price panels.

READ THESE FOR MORE INFORMATION

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The OPA Price Panel Program in the Southwest

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Most of the Federal War Agencies have made no particularly new contribution to public administration and social organization. Selective Service's draft boards function along traditional lines; OPA's rationing boards are substantially similar to rationing boards of World War I and price control as such, although being applied on a much more grandiose scale than heretofore, is certainly not a new economic management tool. The same is true more or less with the other agencies.

OPA's price panels, however, appear to constitute an entirely new approach to regulation compliance problems and should be of particular interest to sociologists, political scientists, and other social science scholars in the Southwest. It is claimed by OPA that the price panel program is a highly democratic method of securing compliance with a necessarily multitudinous set of regulations applying to great numbers of small, widely scattered, uninformed retail sellers of affected commodities and services. The purpose of this article is to describe this interesting phenomenon, suggest some possible merits and demerits, and stimulate if possible further analysis by students of the social sciences in hopes that the good in the system may be established for future reference and the undesirable exposed and discarded.

Tire Rationing Boards were organized by OPA in every county in the United States in early 1942 following Pearl Harbor and the envelopment of our principal sources of supply for rubber by the ensuing Japanese conquests. Each board of two or more members was headed by a Chairman. These men were apointed by a State Tire Rationing Administrator after being nominated by the local OCD organization. Essentially they were from the beginning and still are selected by local citizens. By the summer of 1942, enough workload had developed that OPA began establishing State Offices with a full complement of Price, Rationing

and enforcement officials. State offices for the respective six states in Region V, the Southwest Region, were established at Ft. Worth, Oklahoma City, Wichita, St. Louis, Little Rock and Baton Rouge. In the fall of 1942, State offices were abolished and 13 District Offices substituted at Ft. Worth, Dallas, Houston, San Antonio, and Lubbock in Texas, Oklahoma City and Tulsa in Oklahoma, Kansas City and St. Louis in Missouri and New Orleans and Shreveport in Louisiana. The former State offices in Kansas and Arkansas became District Offices with state-wide jurisdiction.

The Price Divisions in the State Offices were originally headed by men from the academic field: Dean Isidor Loeb of Washington University at St. Louis; Dean Raymond Thomas of Oklahoma A. and M. College at Oklahoma City; Prof. E. E. Hale of the University of Texas at Ft. Worth; Prof. Carl Rosenquist of the University of Texas at Baton Rouge and Estal E. Sparlin from the University of Arkansas at Little Rock. The Wichita position was not filled until later. As the academic people returned to their respective universities — Thomas and Hale in the fall of 1942, Loeb in the spring of 1943, Rosenquist in the fall of 1943, and Sparlin in December 1944 — and as the District Offices were created, business men, on the whole, of outstanding ability, were appointed as Price Executives. The only District Price Executive appointed from the academic field was Prof. John White of the University of Texas, who went to Houston in late 1942 and remained until mid-1944. Many of these people played an important part in the organization of OPA's Price Panels in the Southwest as did Prof. Emmette Redford, of the University of Texas, who was in charge of the Price Panel work in the Dallas Regional Office throughout 1943.

As more commodities were rationed, additional rationing panels were added to the Rationing Boards under the direction of the Chairman. There was a Tire Rationing Panel, a Foods Rationing Panel, a Gasoline Rationing Panel, and others in more populous areas. The function of these rationing panels is familiar to all. Essentially they were legislative bodies, deciding the distribution of commodities within the community. They had no judicial,

enforcement or compliance duties, except that a few gasoline rationing panels did deny the issuance of gasoline rations to those who had been convicted in local courts of violating speeding laws. Even this was performed by a small minority of the panels.

The name of the original tire rationing board was changed to War Price and Rationing Board in June 1942. The word "price" in the title was, however, a misnomer because the boards were assigned no essential price functions.

There are three major phases in the administration of a wartime price control program: Policies must be determined and regulations written, those affected must be informed of the provisions of these regulations, and compliance with them must be secured. Policies in the case of OPA were determined for the most part in Washington and it is not the purpose of this article to appraise this work.

Responsibility for informing the public and the sellers affected and for securing compliance was given to the Regional and the 13 district offices in the Southwest. The Information Division was to inform consumers and the public in general, the Price Division was to see that merchants were acquainted with the regulations and the Enforcement Division was to apply sanctions for the purpose of securing compliance.

All three failed miserably in 1942 and early 1943. This is so obvious that to expound on it seems superfluous. The Information Division had a mere handful of workers in the Region to hold meetings and publish informative material. The task assigned was a physical impossibility. The Enforcement Division faced unfriendly Federal Courts, had to deploy meager investigative manpower over too wide an area, suffered from inadequately trained investigators and relatively inexperienced lawyers, and hesitated to apply sanctions in the enforcement of what appeared to be unpopular regulations. The typical District Price Division in the Southwest had 12 or 15 price specialists to explain the regulations to 25,000 or more sellers. One price specialist might find himself responsible for regulations governing paper, coal, petroleum, chemicals and drugs, laundry services and perhaps

half-a-dozen others. There might be six or eight thousand sellers of these commodities scattered throughout the district in every hamlet and village.

Furthermore, the whole system was lacking in important democratic elements. Local people were left out of the picture entirely, which contrasted conspicuously with the rationing and selective service programs. War Price and Rationing Boards were not able to explain the price regulations to merchants and did not for the most part even have copies available when they were requested by covered sellers. Thousands of merchants were violating the regulations for lack of information and in some cases in spite of diligent attempts to secure copies of the regulations. Others were violating as a result of negligence and accidental shelving of merchandise in bins already price-marked for another brand or size. Often inexperienced employees caused violations inadvertently. On the other hand, there were a few, as is always the case, who were wilfully violating the regulations.

When a consumer reported a complaint to the local War Price and Rationing Board, it was immediately routed to the Enforcement Division in the District Office. Investigators were dispatched to gather evidence with which to "convict" the culprit in court. The investigators were specifically instructed not to tell the alleged violator anything, either about the complaint, the regulation, or what was uncovered in the investigation. The next the merchant knew, he received a subpoena to appear in Federal Court miles away and read in the paper that he had been sued or indicted. This procedure is standard for law enforcement agencies and as such is not to be condemned because when criminals are involved the investigative and prosecution process must necessarily be somewhat secretive and arbitrary until the case reaches the court lest justice be circumvented. However, when thousands of merchants, most of whom are substantial, law-abiding, small-town citizens are placed under complicated regulations and refused access to information as to how to comply, the situation is not the same.

OPA's Price Panel program was designed to overcome these shortcomings and to a very large extent has done so.

In the early days of the Price Panel program, the Washington OPA office seemed to know very little about what the program should be which was fortunate because it allowed Regional and District Office personnel in the Southwest to determine the essential aspects of the work. The organizational and functional pattern agreed upon in early 1943 was somewhat as follows: A panel of three to seven local citizens was to be appointed to each War Price and Rationing Board in the same manner as rationing panels were appointed. This was to be the Price Panel. It was to function at first in relation to grocery stores only. As additional commodity-groups were delegated, more price panels were to be added. The duties of the Price Panels were to inform merchants under their jurisdiction about the regulations, remind them periodically of their responsibilities under price control, and persuade them to comply on a local, democratic basis. They were to accomplish the first of these by having copies of the regulations available, by being familiar enough with the basic regulations to explain them to inquirers, and by holding meetings with merchants and consumers. For the purpose of reminding the merchants, each Price Panel was to recruit a corps of Price Panel Assistants, preferably housewives, who would periodically visit the merchants on a friendly, helpful basis. They would furnish the merchant with information about the regulations which he lacked and would ascertain his selling price on a list of from 10 to 30 items. This list was filed with the Price Panel. Each week, the Price Panel met to review the lists which had been filed by the Price Panel Assistants. The Panel was also to review all consumer complaints which had been reported to the clerks of the War Price and Rationing Board. Consumer complaints lodged with the District Offices were returned to the respective Price Panel. The contrast with the previous system of sending all complaints directly to the Enforcement Division is to be noted.

The Price Panel reviewed the consumer complaints and survey sheets. As a result of this review and based on the knowledge

of local conditions possessed by Price Panel members, each alleged violation was placed in one of three classes: Unintentional, intentional, or flagrant. In the first class were placed those who were first offenders and/or whose violation was on the face of the evidence the result of a lack of information or an honest mistake. In some cases the "unintentional" violators were requested to appear at the next Price Panel meeting at which the nature of the violation was explained, but more often such violators were merely sent friendly "warning" letters. If it were a second offense or, if in the opinion of the Price Panel members, the violation was probably not unintentional, the merchant was ordered to appear at the next Price Panel meeting. At this meeting, the Price Panel explained the nature of price control, warned the individual that continued violation would lead to his case being referred to the Enforcement Division for court action, and gave him an opportunity to refund the overcharges to the consumers. This last is of particular significance because by this method injured consumers were able to recover overcharges whereby under the previous system where the case went direct to the Enforcement Division, suit was brought in the name of the U. S. Government and regardless of the outcome, the consumer collected nothing. After a merchant was repeatedly asked to comply and flagrantly refused to do so, the Price Panel then referred the case to the Enforcement Division and prompt court action resulted. Undoubtedly this procedure was much more democratic than the system previously used.

The Price Control Act of 1944, for the first time, gave OPA the right to sue a retailer for treble damages in a civil suit. OPA had had this authority from the beginning in the case of sales "in the course of trade or business," i. e., in a sale of a wholesaler to a retailer, and had had authority to secure an injunction, suspend license, or file a criminal suit against the retailer; but prior to July 1, 1944, only the consumer had the right to sue the retailer for treble damages. Under the new act, if the consumer does not sue in 30 days, OPA can file suit. In August, 1944, OPA Administrator Chester Bowles delegated to

the Price Panels his right to settle such treble damage suits out of court with the approval of the District Director. It should be clearly understood that Price Panels do not have the right to file the suits; their right is that of informing the retailer that he has violated and offering to settle the matter out of court on a local basis rather than sending it to the District Office for handling through the usual channels, a powerful "persuading" weapon.

The first serious attempt to survey stores was made in July 1943. The 2954 Price Panel Assistants in the Southwest Region contacted 13,872 merchants and 576 violations were reported to price panels during the month by consumers (Table 1). As a result of the July survey, 930 price panel compliance conferences were held during August 1943. The surveys by Price Panel Assistants have continued regularly each month since July 1943.

TABLE 1. PRICE PANEL ACTIVITY IN THE SOUTHWEST,
JULY 1943

OPA District	War Price and Rationing Boards Number	Price Panel Assistants Number	Stores Checked Number	Consumer Complaints Received Number
Dallas	47	150	0	0
Ft. Worth	49	334	346	126
Houston	43	635	1507	123
Kansas City	59	262	597	60
Little Rock	80	565	3548	23
Lubbock	71	87	203	25
New Orleans	47	506	1349	46
Oklahoma City	58	561	1570	31
San Antonio	60	395	1099	39
Shreveport	27	148	145	11
St. Louis	66	610	1843	43
Tulsa	29	291	805	49
Wichita	109	410	860	0
Total.....	745	2,954	13,872	576

There is substantial evidence that the price panel program reduced violations as it gained momentum in the months following July 1943. The proportion of grocery stores violating the regulations in Arkansas was reduced from 51.5 percent in July 1943 to 40.8 percent in January 1944 and to 9.3 percent in October 1944. The proportion of items checked which were selling above the ceiling price was reduced from 16.2 percent in July 1943 to 10.6

percent in January 1944 and to 1.8 percent in October 1944 (Table 2).

TABLE 2. PRICE PANEL RESULTS WITH FOOD STORES
IN THE LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS, OPA DISTRICT

Item		July 1943	January 1944	October 1944
Stores in district.....	Number	7,809	7,299	7,446
Stores surveyed.....	do	3,828	5,577	7,193
Stores in violation ¹	do	1,971	2,276	672
Proportion in violation.....	Percent	51.5	40.8	9.3
Items checked.....	Number	28,684	39,633	58,597
Items selling over the ceiling.....	do	4,647	4,220	1,041
Proportion items in violation.....	Percent	16.2	10.0	1.8

¹ A store was recorded as being in "violation" if one or more of the items surveyed was being sold above the ceiling price.

The percentage of food stores in full compliance with the regulations on the prices and postings surveyed in the Southwest increased from 48 percent in March 1944 to 72 percent in October 1944 (Table 3).

TABLE 3. PROPORTION OF STORES SURVEYED FOUND
IN FULL COMPLIANCE IN SOUTHWESTERN STATES,
MARCH AND OCTOBER, 1944

OPA District	March Percent	October Percent
Dallas.....	56	66
Ft. Worth.....	43	69
Houston.....	36	76
Kansas City.....	30	59
Little Rock.....	71	83
Lubbock.....	24	65
New Orleans.....	35	78
Oklahoma City.....	63	76
San Antonio.....	44	65
Shreveport.....	34	76
St. Louis.....	44	66
Tulsa.....	30	64
Wichita.....	52	68
Average.....	48	72

In May 1943, when the Price Panel program was inaugurated, the BLS Cost-of-Living index stood at 125.1 after having gradually increased each month for over two years despite all the efforts of National, Regional and District Office Price and Enforcement Divisions. In May 1944, 12 months later, the BLS index still stood 125.1. Many different factors such as subsidies, the Presi-

dent's hold-the-line order, and community ceiling prices contributed to this accomplishment, but it is certainly no matter of coincidence that the Price Panel program began functioning the same month that the cost-of-living index levelled off for the first time. During the year of operation of the program prices have remained substantially constant.

Price Panels have made a distinct contribution to the war economy in the Southwest. More than that, the Price Panel method of law enforcement opens new vistas of democratic processes and the training Price Panel members and Price Panel Assistants are receiving may result in a lasting, democratic influence on the social and political organization of this area.

Book Reviews

EDITED BY O. DOUGLAS WEEKS
The University of Texas

Simkins, Francis Butler, *Pitchfork Ben Tillman, South Carolinian.*
(Southern Biography Series. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1944, pp. xiv, 577.)

Pitchfork Ben Tillman (so-called from his oratorical threat to punch President Cleveland with that well-known implement) created a major disturbance in South Carolina in the 1890's and made himself from then on for two decades a colorful figure in American politics. He came from upper South Carolina (the Edgefield district, which had already produced such celebrated characters as the nullifier George McDuffie and the fire-eater Louis T. Wigfall of Texas fame) and therein lay one of his handiest political weapons — fanning into flame the resentment and hostility of up-country South Carolinians against the lowlanders.

Tillman was a product of the farmer discontent which swept the nation in the 1880's and 1890's and which had its most significant political expression in the Populist Party; but he never joined this group, for by so doing he would have divided the white man's party in the South and have called into existence again the threat of Negro domination — something he had helped to overthrow in 1876-1877. White supremacy was a cardinal principle in Pitchfork Ben's program, and in the pursuit of this he was responsible for introducing an improvement over the Grandfather Clause in disfranchising Negroes. Tillman's creation was the Understanding Clause. As a method of overthrowing the Bourbon bosses he brought the white primary to his state. Among other arrows in his quiver were the Dispensary system for handling the liquor problem, the regulation of railroads, and the direct election of Senators. His most constructive and lasting work for South Carolina was establishing Clemson College as a practical aid to the ailing farmers and Winthrop College for training women as teachers, home-makers, and for the enjoyments of a liberal education. In pursuance of this program Tillman served as governor a few times. And then, having tasted of the sweets of office, he could not forego the ambitions of further service which he could give to his state and nation; and so he entered the United States Senate and remained there for the

rest of his life, eking out in his last years a rather pathetic existence in a body half paralyzed. Though in his early reforming days he had claimed he had no desire for office, he now clung to his senatorship like a child to a toy.

In the Senate Tillman became as great a spoilsman as those whom he so vehemently attacked for the same sin, explaining most realistically and frankly that as everybody else was stealing for his respective state, Tillman would steal South Carolina's share. He got along fairly well with McKinley, but he hated Teddy Roosevelt to his dying day. By the time Wilson had come along, Tillman's fire had been quenched in his burned-out body, but he did the best he could in support of the only President since the Civil War, whom he considered a Democrat.

Tillman was rough and uncouth; he hated aristocratic traditions and trappings and in destroying them in South Carolina he developed into political life the half-submerged white masses by awakening some of their worst passions through the use of race hatred, coupled with earthly language, too often inelegant and profane. In his later, more conservative years, he half-way repented of ever having turned this frankenstein loose on his fellow South Carolinians, especially when he saw Cole Blease making use of it. Whether Tillman was more bad than good is open to debate, but no one who reads this book can differ with the author when he says that no South Carolinian with the exception of Calhoun ever made a more profound impression on his generation than Tillman.

Such in brief was Tillman. What of this book and its author? Professor Simkins has written a distinguished biography, by any standards the best so far in the Southern Biography Series. In fact the committeemen who pick Pulitzer prizes would waste no time if they should read this book to see whether it might not qualify for the honor. Professor Simkins grew up in the same county which nurtured Tillman into fame and he has long been a student of Tillman and his movement. He writes in a clear, penetrating style, with no inept phrases or halting sentences. He has brought Pitchford Ben Tillman back to life.

The University of Texas

E. M. COULTER

Becker, Carl Lotus, *How New Will the Better World Be; A Discussion of the Post-War Reconstruction.* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1944, pp. vi, 246.)

Professor Becker wrote two essays, which appeared in the

spring numbers of the *Yale Review*, 1942 and 1943, "to suggest that these complex forces are the political realities of our time, and that they cannot be got rid of by wishing, or good resolutions, or treaties solemnly subscribed to." The substance of the two essays has been expanded into the book which is the subject of this review.

The eight chapter headings are questions which the author endeavors to answer. In the first chapter the two things found wrong with the world we have are mass unemployment and war. Mass unemployment is due in part to maldistribution of goods, and war is caused in part by competition for world trade and raw materials. Two errors, both products of "war psychology," are noted: (1) that the war will teach us the necessary lessons and when it is over we will be wiser and more humane, and will, therefore, make a new world; and (2) that winning the war will remove all our real difficulties.

The answer to the question "can we return to normalcy" is that we tried to find ease and comfort by such means at the end of the Civil War and reaped the "Gilded Age," and following World War I we produced Samuel Insull and the Great Depression.

In the third chapter the author expresses the belief that *Nationalism* will remain what it has been in the past—"the strongest political force in the modern world; and this force will be exerted in the form of many sovereign independent states." If the people have sufficient intelligence and moral sense the power can be used for more enlightened purposes and more desirable ends than in the past. Such procedure must take into account the rights and interests of other nations.

As for power politics and imperialism, Professor Becker believes that it is unreasonable to expect the great powers to fight the war to a successful end and then voluntarily give up their political independence. If we insist that the great powers remain united to maintain peace we must concede them the power with which to do it. Since they have the power, we must trust them if we expect peace.

What we are fighting for is compressed into the statement that we wish to restore the national and international systems which will give maximum production and a more equitable distribution of wealth.

Experience has demonstrated that it is about as impossible for highly industrialized, capitalistic countries to live in economic

as in political isolation. The author reasons that making a new and better world at home is inseparable from the making of a new and better world in international relations, both of which involve an understanding of the essential causes of economic confusion and conflict. It will require the cooperation of the great and small nations in measures necessary to eliminate those causes. Such an undertaking will be difficult to achieve and will prove to be a slow one, since it involves the problem of abating the social conflict within nations and abating the economic and political conflict between them.

This little book is an excellent example of Professor Becker's logical reasoning. It demonstrates how well he plans and thinks through his subject before he expresses his thoughts in writing. This reviewer is reminded that he was advised to take a course offered by the author at the University of Chicago in 1929, because Dr. Becker "possessed one of the keenest minds in America."

GARNIE WILLIAM McGINTY

Berge, Wendell, *Cartels, Challenge to a Free World*, (Washington: Public Affairs Press, 1944, pp. iii-v, 256.)

The purpose of this book is to make the reading public aware of what the author considers the major obstacle to a healthy condition of post-war competition — cartelization of industry.

Cartels are "in effect . . . trusts magnified to an international scale." The author adds that the true monopoly character of cartels is evident in the fact that "in order to maintain their control over production and prices," they "must determine who may enter the industry, how they shall operate, and where they may sell." In defining the purpose of cartelization in the titanium (white lead pigment) industry, the president of one of the American companies said in a communication that "The whole purpose of the cartel is to obtain a monopoly of patents so that no one can manufacture it excepting the members of the cartel, and so can raise the prices by reason of such monopoly to a point that would give us much more profit on our present tonnage . . ." Cartelization, then, is fundamentally an extension of the tenets of monopoly to an international economy. The tenets of monopoly are the well-known domestic practices of collusion for the restriction of out-put, price-pegging, and allocation of the market, all for the maximization of profits.

Illustrations of international monopoly are numerous. For instance, the "myth" of German superiority in the production of pharmaceuticals and chemicals is based on the "abuse of monopoly and patent privileges," rather than superior skill. However, American concerns are as guilty of this abuse in some cases as European industrialists. For instance, a German and an American concern set up an agreement whereby the world market for more than 400 pharmaceutical and chemical supplies, including such vital items as quinine derivatives, sulfa drugs, vitamins, and narcotics, was arbitrarily divided. The American concern was restricted to the domestic market and most of the German goods were sold in the South American market. Thus each concern agreed not to interfere in the other's market regardless of prices and the opportunity for monopoly profits.

In another case the Justice Department unearthed interesting data on pricing-policies of the cartels. Shering, A. G. of Germany; Siba of Switzerland; N. V. Organon of Holland; C. F. Boehringer & Sons and Les Laboratoires Francois de Chimiotherapie of France agreed in 1938 upon a uniform price for a certain hormone. One representative suggested \$3.00 but another representative with more prestige objected and suggested \$4.00 which was then accepted as a desirable uniform price for all members. Thus the authority of one representative, as a sort of "price leader," decided upon a uniform non-competitive price without any reference to differential costs within the industry. In view of the inelastic demand for the product \$4.00 would yield a larger net profit for the "leader" than any other price. The high-price policy of Du Pont in the sale of vitamin D also demonstrates restriction of supply and large net profits where demand is inelastic.

Another technique of the cartel is to withhold new competitive products from the market. Recent research at the University of London and Oxford developed a satisfactory substitute (Stilbestrol) for the synthetic female sex hormone produced and distributed by the German, Swiss, Dutch, and French pharmaceutical cartel. The costs of manufacturing the British product are much less than the established product. Therefore, at a conference of representatives of Ciba, Shering, and Roche-Organon it was suggested that the product be defamed to the medical profession and the American government to discourage its adoption, and the president of Shering said that he hoped "none of us will introduce Stilbestrol!" Artificial restriction of this product

terminated in America when the Alien Property Custodian seized two of the German subsidiaries.

As recently as October, 1943, the Department of Justice filed complaint against Merck and Company of New Jersey for maintaining cartel agreements with the E. Merck Chemical Works of Germany. The essence of the complaint was an agreement in which world markets were divided among the two. In January of 1944 the Department brought action against two American companies and a British company for maintaining cartel agreements in the manufacture of chemical products, firearms, and ammunition. In May, 1944, action was directed against the match cartel involving six American companies, two British companies, one Canadian company, and one Swedish company for restricting output and holding up prices. These are but a few of the cases cited by the author to show the prevalence of international monopoly in the modern world.

This little book is more than a rich source of factual information; it is a fine example of a trnd in economic methodology. Because of his access to significant data, the author is able to make a real contribution to the "science" of economics. The author has combined the inductive and deductive methods in a manner that adds to the prestige of economic theory. It is interesting to observe, however, that this contribution was made by one who does not pretend to be a professional economist.

In its broader aspects this book is a systematic unfolding of a simple syllogism, the major premise of which is that competition is desirable and monopoly is undesirable. The minor premise is that cartels represent monopoly at its worst, and the conclusion is that cartels therefore are undesirable and must be destroyed. The major premise is self-evident, and the minor premise is really the subject of this whole analysis. The author throws one barrage of facts after another in support of the minor premise. If the facts prove the minor premise, then the conclusion is also self-evident. The conclusion is simply an inevitable relationship between two parts of the syllogism. Therefore, the only questionable part of the whole analysis is the data used in building up the minor premise.

The main objection that the reviewer has to the data is that it gives the impression of being a study of the pharmaceutical and chemical industries, instead of a study of the whole problem of cartelization. These industries may have been especially selected because they supply consumers' goods and therefore better illus-

trate the direct effects of cartelization upon the public. For instance, the author says that "Gigantic sums are drained from the American consumer each year and given outright to domestic monopolists and to foreign companies operating in protected markets." Or, these industries may have been selected because of their lucid illustrations of the monopoly practices of modern cartels. It is also difficult for the reviewer of a technical study such as this to know precisely how much of the factual data was chosen purely objectively, and precisely how much was chosen to fit presuppositions of the author.

The University of Texas

L. K. BRANDT

Wriston, Henry M., *Strategy of Peace*. (Boston: World Peace Foundation, 1944, pp. 159.)

President Wriston offers a new strategic approach to the winning of the peace. He suggests that to consolidate the pending military victory sound strategy requires, in the first place, an understanding of the relation of war to peace. "The actual fact is," he says, "that war and peace are two parts of a larger entity and they must be made together. . . . Peace and war, if we regard them as mutually exclusive, confuse the war effort and bedevil the making of peace." The approach to the problem is to consider war and peace as phases of a national policy which is continuous, although constantly changing in direction, intensity and relative emphasis. "When the emphasis upon the positive and constructive means is strongest, we have what is called peace; when negative and destructive action is dominant, we have what is called war." This being the case we have a practical test to determine whether a policy leads to war or peace. "The problem of war and peace is mastered only by the continuous, wise and constructive employment, in the support of policy, of the elements common to both war and peace, i. e. reason, culture, emotion, economic activity and force." The nature of relations between states, that is, whether they shall be peaceful or hostile, depends upon the manner in which these basic elements is employed.

Having established these basic considerations, President Wriston then describes the position of the United States in terms of interests and commitments. He believes that in broad outline American foreign policy has been sound. "The striking characteristic of this record," he says, "is that over the years and in large outline American opinion has seen the logic of its position in the world and from time to time made the adjustments necessary

to adapt itself to altered circumstances." Of course these adaptations have not always been perfect, but our interests and commitments are no more out of balance than those of other nations. What is needed is proper perspective to see things in the large "without giving undue emphasis to those values and considerations which naturally greatly influence our thinking in time of war." The author believes that "We should reject both the dogmas and false scientism in geopolitics and the pessimism of a period of emotional depression."

Finally, President Wriston suggests an outline of a basic treaty which, however, does not pretend to offer a solution to all political problems, but merely to explore and illustrate a possible mode of procedure.

This little volume is undoubtedly a stimulating contribution to current discussions of the problems of the peace. The argument that the difference between war and peace consists merely in a shift of emphasis within and among the five common elements in war and peace is indeed arresting. Yet, it is only with difficulty that a unifying thread can be discerned binding the three main divisions of this volume, i. e., Part I, War and Peace; Part II, American Commitments; and Part III, A Basic Treaty of Peace. It is the opinion of the reviewer that each of the three major sections is an independent essay, largely unrelated in theme to the other two parts.

The University of Texas

J. LLOYD MECHAM

Diary & Letters of Josiah Gregg: Excursions in Mexico & California, 1847-1850. Edited by Maurice Garland Fulton, with an introduction by Paul Horgan. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1944. pp. xvii, 396.)

The present volume, a companion to *Diary and Letters of Josiah Gregg: Southwestern Enterprises, 1840-1847*, completes the publication of the diary and letters of Josiah Gregg. It comprises a narrative of his movements and activities for the years 1847-1850. As Gregg died in 1850, this account brings to a close the record of one of the most intrepid of Americans.

Josiah Gregg was born in Overton County, Tennessee, on July 19, 1806. On May 15, 1831, he departed from Independence with a caravan bound for Santa Fé. Apparently Gregg had developed tuberculosis, and the trip was made for his health.

The plains restored him, and he became a trader and a regular traveller along the Santa Fé trail. Gregg had an insatiable curiosity concerning all natural objects about him; he was a natural historian; he made inquiry and took extensive notes on everything that interested him. From associates he learned the history of the Santa Fé trade, which was in its tenth year when he became a participant. Eventually the manuscript for a book was finished. This became *Commerce of the Prairies*, published first in two volumes in 1844. The book was an immediate success and went into several editions. It was to mark Gregg, in the words of Reuben Gold Thwaites, as "preeminently the historian of the Santa Fé trail." The book is a classic of the frontier and a lasting piece of Americana. Thus any scrap of evidence concerning Gregg has come to be important.

While *Commerce of the Prairies* was rather satisfactory biographical material on Gregg down to 1843, all too little was known of the last seven years of his life. Rumor persisted, however, that Gregg had written another book entitled *Rovings Abroad*. It remained for Maurice Garland Fulton, already a Gregg student, to track down the rumor and find its basis. Gregg had kept notes after the completion of his first manuscript, and eventually he expected to produce a second work. The little note books in which he so faithfully made his recordings were on his person when he died while leading an exploring party in northern California in 1850. His papers must have been returned to his brother John and have remained in the family until Professor Fulton caught up with them in the possession of Mrs. Antoinette Hardwicke of Tucson, Arizona.

The present volume opens with Gregg as an observer at the Battle of Buena Vista. He passed across from Saltillo to Chihuahua City and was irritated with Doniphan's Missourians. He returned to the States but was soon back in Saltillo where he practiced medicine for a time before visiting Mexico City. From there he set out for the West Coast, whence he went to the California gold fields. While attempting to find a suitable harbor and thoroughfare from there to the northern California gold fields, he met his death from a famished condition and exposure in 1850. For the most part, Gregg's own notes tell the story of his travels. Contemporary accounts relate his death. Throughout Professor Fulton's scholarly notes add much to this major discovery in the field of Western Americana.

What sort of man was Gregg? Paul Horgan's introduction, which is an interpretation of the significance of Gregg, is a master-

ful answer. Also Gregg's own words present a self-portrait. He was a sincere and confirmed student of natural science, for which he had a missionary zeal. He was impatient of any restraint which kept him from recording facts. He was a perfectionist, sometimes sharp and pointed in his judgments of fellow travellers. He was eccentric, sometimes petulant, sensitive, and frequently imposed upon or slighted. He was given to insisting upon all formalities and proprieties, but he was fundamentally a man of science. His contributions make him live while his contemporary superiors have been forgotten and give him the right to have been as eccentric or as difficult as he pleased.

The book is in an attractive format which has come to be traditional with offerings of the University of Oklahoma Press.

The University of Texas

H. BAILEY CARROLL

Brown, Louise Fargo, *Apostle of Democracy*. (New York and London: Harper and Brothers, 1943, pp. 315.)

Apostle of Democracy is the life story of Lucy Maynard Salmon, historian, educator, and for many years Professor of History at Vassar College. It was written by a present teacher of History at Vassar who lived for several years with Miss Salmon while teaching in the department of which Miss Salmon was chairman.

The first four chapters of the book are devoted to Miss Salmon's childhood, college years, and early teaching experiences, and the remainder to her work at Vassar and her contributions in the fields of History and Education.

Born in Fulton, New York, in 1853, Lucy Salmon's early childhood was influenced by puritanical religious training and discipline. After high school, she entered the University of Michigan and upon graduation became assistant principal of McGregor High School, Iowa. She continued in this position for five years, leaving because of a breakdown which resulted from overwork and loneliness. In 1882 she returned to the University of Michigan for graduate study, and after completing her M. A., accepted a position teaching in a normal school in Indiana. During this period she acquired a degree of recognition through the presentation of a paper before the American Historical Association. In 1886 Miss Salmon accepted a fellowship to Bryn Mawr College. The following year she became Professor of History at Vassar where she remained until her death in 1827. (After retirement in 1826 Miss Salmon continued her work at Vassar under the

Lucy Maynard Salmon Fund for Research which was supplied by contributions from friends and former students.)

Miss Salmon's chief interest was in teaching. Shy, self-effacing, and conscientious, she was never entirely at ease except in the classroom. Her teaching methods were unconventional, her emphasis distinctly practical. She worked untiringly for the extension of democracy in education and in all human relations. She advocated Federal control of education, the abolition of academic prizes and honors, uniformity of college entrance requirements, the careful preparation of teachers, and cooperation between colleges, universities, and secondary schools, and she deplored the power of uneducated boards of trustees over educational experts. She visualized Vassar as a special college for unusual students and was interested in student government and greater freedom of course election. She also desired for Vassar better library facilities, cooperative arrangements between students and instructors, a representative governing body for the college, and certain curriculum changes which have since been adopted. Her numerous contributions,—articles, books, and lectures,—were the outgrowth of her teaching, and she insisted that all of her ideas came from the classroom. In all of these activities, as in her personal habits, Miss Salmon is shown to have maintained a fundamental respect for the dignity of the human spirit, so that she actually "lived" the principles of the democracy in which she so profoundly believed.

The book is well-written and displays careful attention as to accuracy of detail, but it is almost totally lacking in warmth and vitality. The reader never seems to get acquainted with Lucy Salmon and wonders if the way in which she is portrayed is an honest reflection of a dull and colorless personality, or if perhaps the biographer has failed to capture the element which endeared her to her friends and enabled her to wield so great an influence with her students. A number of Miss Salmon's personal letters were used, and these comprise almost the only insight which is obtained with respect to her personality. In deed so extensive is the use of this technique that the book might almost have been called "*The Letters of Lucy Maynard Salmon*." A more vivid and illuminating biography might have been achieved if a greater attempt had been made to see Miss Salmon's point of view and achievements as a part of her personality and to some extent to account for her personality in terms of her social experiences.

Shotwell, James T., *The Great Decision*. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1944, pp. x, 268.)

Dr. Shotwell, on the basis of his long and intensive studies and wide first-hand knowledge and observation of international affairs, presents his arguments for a world organization to keep the peace. While recognizing that "the organization of peace is the most difficult task that has ever been envisaged by human intelligence," he nevertheless proposes certain guiding principles, based on the conclusions of the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace, which he believes are validated by the experience of history. Consequently he rejects as unrealistic both those do-nothing and half-measures of the past, as well as those theories of world peace which would at a single step merge sovereign nations into a superstate. Instead, he proposes that the plan of the international organization of the future be regarded as an engineering rather than an architectural job. Since the political forces of today are ever-changing the instruments for dealing with them must be flexible and adjustable to their task. This, he believes, is actually in process of development in the activities of common interest carried on by the United Nations. "This is the functional method of international cooperation, thinking just of the job to be done and then the best means for doing it." The functional method of setting up an international organization, in contrast to the method followed in the creation of the League of Nations, keeps close to realities. Thus, believes Dr. Shotwell, we have to apply the functional methods to the three great fields of international relations: security, justice and livelihood. The appropriate methods and instruments applicable to each field are described in this volume.

It is a matter of interest to note that, in many respects the Dumbarton Oaks project for a general international organization, which followed the publication of this volume, is based on the principles advocated by Dr. Shotwell. For example, Dumbarton Oaks quite unmistakably seeks to project the existent United Nations combination into a permanent world organization. Moreover, the Defense Committee of the General International Organization, as proposed by Dr. Shotwell, bears a remarkable resemblance to the Security Council of Dumbarton Oaks. Numerous other similarities could be mentioned. It should be a matter of great satisfaction to Dr. Shotwell and his colleagues on the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace to know that

their conclusions, whether of direct influence or not, have been in the direction of practical acceptance.

The University of Texas

J. LLOYD MECHAM

Morrison, Herbert, *Prospects and Policies*. (New York: Alfred A. Knoff, 1944, pp. xxvi, 170.)

This little book contains twenty-two lectures delivered between May 22, 1940 and December 1, 1943, and an introduction for American readers. The lectures are classified under five headings and compose the five parts of the book.

Part one, "Looking Ahead," contains ten lectures; part two, "Britain's Part" two lectures; "Liberty in War-Time" two; and the last two parts — "Go to It" and "The Fighting People" comprise four lectures each.

The author published the lectures because he thought "it of the utmost importance that Americans should understand the British position and problems." In the opinion of the reviewer the author presents the economic and social problems of Great Britain in war time clearly and sanely. There appears no effort to minimize or dramatize. The facts are stated and rational conclusions are deduced therefrom. The work has its place and serves a purpose. There seems to be a distinct need for the people of the United States to become completely aware of the economic, political and social problems Britain has faced during the war in order that we may better evaluate and understand her position in the post-war era.

The book is attractive in appearance, singularly free from errors, and is a new example of the bookmaker's art.

Louisiana Polytechnic Institute

G. W. McGinty

Book Notes

In *Social Insurance* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1944, pp.—Part I, 64, Part II, 31) the Ministry of Reconstruction sets forth in detail the plans of the British Government for the future made, allowances are to become available to every person without exception who is in need by reason of unemployment or unemployability. Family allowances and retirement pensions are provided for those too young or too old to work, respectively. A training allowance will help the young man or woman to develop occupational skill before having to accept the burden of self-support; sickness and unemployment benefits will help every worker over the difficult times during his career as a breadwinner. Workmen's compensation is no longer to remain a question at issue between the employer and the injured employee, but is to be administered like other social security measures by the Government. Practically every contingency in the average citizen's life is provided for. Back of the program stands the expressed policy of the Government "to plan for the prevention of industrial poverty resulting from those hazards of personal fortune over which individuals have little or no control." The significance of this policy, marking as it does the acceptance of social responsibility for individual welfare, can scarcely be overestimated. C. M. R.

Two recent books have been added to the voluminous list dealing with Thomas Jefferson. One, *The Philosophy of Thomas Jefferson* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943, pp, xiv, 208) by Adrienne Koch, deals with the broad bases of Jefferson's philosophy and attempts to give Jefferson a niche as a general philosopher. While it is true that Jefferson's interests were very wide and that his contribution to thought extended far beyond the realm of purely political thought, there remains considerable doubt as to his contribution as a "system-maker" in the sense in which that term may be applied to Locke, Kant, or other great European philosophers. Not even his political philosophy was altogether consistent when viewed in the light of his long period of activity or when tested by the facts of his career as a practical statesman. The other book, *Jefferson and the Press* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1943, pp. 65) by Frank L. Mott, reviews Jefferson's most important statements with respect to the press, presenting his varying attitudes at different times and revealing his firm belief in the press as a most essential feature of a democratic and responsible regime.

O. D. W.

Students of American legislation, American state government, and the "progressive" era of the opening years of the present century will find Edward A. Fitzpatrick's *McCarthy of Wisconsin* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1944, pp. x, 316) necessary reading. Charles McCarthy holds an honored place as the creator of the legislative reference library and the pioneer of the twentieth century movement to improve the state legislative process and product, a movement which has had many new ramifications since his time. He is noted also for the part he played in the enactment of a broad program of progressive legislation in Wisconsin, which placed that state in the forefront in the days of the elder La Follette. The author of this life of McCarthy was an associate who worked under him and who had access to source materials throwing light on his subject. The book is well written and provides an important chapter in the history of American legislation and political ideas. O. D. W.

Modern Political Philosophies and What They Mean (Philadelphia: The Blakiston Company, 1944, pp. v, 287) by Louis Wasserman is a recent addition to The New Home Library, and reprints parts of *The Handbook of Political Isms* (1942) with considerable new material. The book is quite objective and affords an excellent elementary introduction to contemporary and recent political thought. Single chapters are devoted to democracy, liberalism, capitalism, state capitalism; three chapters take up fascism in Italy, Germany, and Japan; the remaining eleven chapters are concerned with various schools of socialistic thought and movements more or less associated with socialism. A glossary of World governments is inserted at the end. The chief criticism of the book might be that it gives somewhat disproportionate space to socialism. On the whole, however, it should prove quite useful as a reference book for beginners in political science.

O. D. W.

Barnes and Noble, Inc. have recently published (New York: 1944, pp. vii, 358) a revision and expansion of *A Dictionary of American Politics* by Edward C. Smith which appeared in 1924. The new edition was prepared by the same author assisted by Arnold J. Zurcher. It contains 3020 definitions, considerably more than in the old edition, although most of the entries are very much shorter. The revision brings up to date a volume which was very serviceable to students of American practical politics.

O. D. W.

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